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I.—REMINISCENCES OF “OLD BROOKLYN.”

READ BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 16, 1867, BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOE.

In accordance with the invitation of your Committee, I have the honor of presenting myself this evening, not merely as a voluntary contributor but as a debtor, anxious, as far as I can do so, to repay you for many favors which I have received and for many pleasant hours agreeably spent in your well-filled halls. I am sensible that you entertain no claim on me or my services in return for the honors which you have conferred on me or the facilities for study which you have afforded; but I consider it incumbent upon each and every one who makes use of such collections as yours to offer some return for the advantages for study which are so freely offered; and in accordance with that conviction, after my own style, I respectfully present myself to discharge a portion, at least, of my own obligation.

No one can witness your collections without becoming satisfied that the labor of gathering and arranging them for exhibition has been very great; yet few can understand the study which has been requisite to make them available to the student or useful to the casual observer.

The proper classification of such materials is a work which very few can properly perform: of the labor of gathering them together, from nooks and corners, from cellars and garrets, from at home and abroad, from the mountain-top and the depths of the sea, no one can give a faithful description or convey to you a correct idea of its extent or its burdens.

I may, with justice, say that the zealous labors of your officers and members have secured for you a most valuable apparatus for the student, in more than one branch of knowledge; that you are capable of offering rare opportunities, to all who shall seek information within your halls; and that the world is indebted to you, far more than it will probably recompense. For myself, I can do little more than recognise the debt which I owe to you and other similar Societies; and with my heartfelt thanks, for the friendly co-operation

which I have enjoyed, I turn to the duty which has been assigned to me.

In collecting the materials for a part of the second volume of *The Market Book*, Brooklyn, your rapidly growing city, demanded from me a place on the record, for a portion of her history, which I promised when I sent forth to the world the title page of the first volume of that work, now lying upon your shelves. When this promise was made, I had prepared only a short sketch of the subject, which I concluded would occupy the portion of the second volume assigned to it; but the great rebellion stopped its progress, and, now, instead of two volumes, I fear it will develop itself into a third. With these few remarks, let us glance back to the settlement of New Amsterdam, now New York.

The first Dutch settlers began at an early day, to trade, with the Indians for their products, which were composed principally of peltries or furs, game, fish, and a few species of grain and vegetables. This trade brought many of the various tribes of Indians from different localities about the Island of Manhattan; and, no doubt, those from Long Island furnished a great deal of the food which was required, since around its shores were found wild fowl and fish, in abundance; while the prolific lands, back from the shores, were easily cultivated and brought forth a surplus, which, at that early period, was in demand by those early settlers, who had not yet made much progress in its cultivation.

These prolific and attractive lands, found so near the Town of Manhattan, engaged the attention of the Governor, who closed a purchase with the then friendly Indians; and thus, under his protection, a strong inducement was held out to some of the early traders and agriculturists, who became the first European settlers on Long Island.

In favorable localities, they erected their low wooden buildings, roofed with reeds and straw; and built their huge fire-places with stones and mud, on the tops of which they added wooden chimney-flues, which protruded several feet above the combustible roofs. Then, in consequence of the want of proper farming materials, but little land was at first cultivated; their chief depend-

ance for food being yet upon the abundance of game and fish.

Other settlers, however, soon followed with farm stock—Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and implements of husbandry; these, with an increased trade and the necessary travel of crossing and recrossing the East River, led the Indians and others to enter into private ferrying. The Indians, no doubt, many years before this settlement had selected the shortest route or passage across, as well as the best landing place on each side of the river; and thus these original thoroughfares were early established.

The one on the eastern, or Long Island, shore, perhaps, was chosen as being the nearest to their main path which led from the river, through and over the rough or broken hills into their cultivated lands or hunting grounds, in the interior.

These broken hills, probably, originated the first name of BREUCKELEN by the Dutch settlers, unless it was thus called after an ancient Dutch village of that name, in the Province of Utrecht, in Holland.

This name, Breuckelen, continued with it many years, but with different ways of spelling; however, we find in 1683, when the several towns were organized, the name appears changed to BROOKLAND; afterwards, and during the Revolution, it was known as BROOKLYNE; and, finally, it ended in its present mode of spelling and pronunciation, BROOKLYN.

The Ferry-landing, on the Brooklyn shore, early became an attractive place for the erection of small trading stores and public houses, which were occasionally much patronised, especially when violent storms or very severe weather detained the private ferrymen as well as the anxious passengers, who were then obliged either to make the best bargain in a trade at the stores, or put up with such accommodations as were offered in these public houses.

These early ferrymen, being under no regulations or restrictions, were often found guilty of extortion or neglect; and it became so onerous to travellers, that they complained to the authorities, who, in 1654, established certain Rules and Regulations, which were thus proclaimed:

"Daily confusion occuring among the Ferrymen "on Manhattan Island, so that the inhabitants are "wasting whole days before they can obtain a "passage, and then not without danger, and at "an exorbitant price, it is ordered, That no person "shall ferry from one side of the river to the "other without a License from the Magistrates, "under a penalty."

The Ferry charge for each person was three stuivers, but double for an Indian; for a wagon, or cart, with horses or oxen, two florins, ten stuivers; for a hog, sheep, buck, or goat, three stuivers; for a horse, or four-footed horned beast, one

florin, ten stuivers; and for a keg of butter, or *any thing else*, six stuivers; and the Ferrymen were not obliged to ferry any thing over until they were paid; nor during a tempest; nor when they carried sail; nor after the regular hours; unless they was allowed double ferrage. But all persons invested with authority, were exempt from the toll.

The year following, 1655, the Ferry privilege came into the possession of Egbert Van Borsum, who, in the month of April, contracted to build a Ferry-house, which is thus described: "We, Carpenters, Jan Corneilesen, Abraham Jacobsen, and Jan Hendricksen, have contracted to construct a house over at the Ferry of Egbert Van Borsum, "Ferryman, thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, with an outlet of four feet, to place in "it seven girders, with three transom windows "and one door in the front, the front to be "planed and grooved, and the rear front to have "boards overlapped in order to be tight, with "door and windows therein; and a floor and "garret grooved and planed beneath (on the "under side); to saw the roof thereon; and, moreover, to set a window-frame with a glass light in "the front side; to make chimney-mantel, and to "wainscot the fore-room below, and divide it in "the centre across with a door in the partition; "to set a window-frame with two glass lights "therein; further, to wainscot the east side the "whole length of the house, and in the recess "two bedsteads, one in the front room and one in "the inside room, with a pantry at the end of "the bedstead; a winding staircase in the fore-room.

"Furthermore, we, the Carpenters, are bound "to deliver all the square timber—to wit—beams, "posts, and frame timber, with the pillar for the "winding staircase, spars, and worm, and girders, "and foundation timber required for the work; "also the spikes and nails for the interior work; "also rails for the wainscot are to be delivered "by us.

"For which work Egbert Van Borsum is to pay "five hundred and fifty guilders" (*two hundred and twenty dollars*), "one third in Beavers, one "third in good merchantable wampum, one third "in good silver coin, and free passage over the "Ferry, so long as the work continues, and *small beer* to be drunk during work."

There was also a cellar kitchen built under the house, which appears to have cost "One hundred "guilders, together with one whole *good otter skin*."

This building was finished, and, soon afterwards became a Tavern of some importance, as well as a Ferry-house. The records of the Burgomasters and Schepens, show this fact in the following entry, made in 1658:—"EGBERT VAN BORSUM "sues Captain Beaulieu, Nicholas Bout, Jacob

"Huger, and Simon Felle ; demanding from Beau-lieu three hundred and ten Florins, for an entertainment given by the Captain at Van Borsum's. To this complaint the Captain answers, that the other defendants should pay their share. Jacob Huger says, he was invited by the Captain. Felle declares the same. Beaulieu says, there were fourteen of them, and he was to pay one half, "the others, the remaining portion of the expences. Annetje Van Borsum says, the Captain alone made the agreement, and she looks to him. Whereupon the Court condemns him to "pay the same," or the whole amount.

After the death of old Van Borsum, his widow, Annetje, continued the business of Tavern-keeper and mistress of the Ferry, for several years—the latter being under the direction of her son *Her-manus*; which fact is further proved by a suit brought against her, in 1660, by Paulus van der Beeck, a sworn butcher, who complains of the *Ferry-mistress*, Mrs. Anneken Van Borsum, that "she took too much ferriage from him." In her answer, she says—"That her son, HERMANUS, who "is without, has better knowledge thereof; and "being called in, he says, that the Heer Fiscal told "him, he may take six stuivers ferriage from "each person when ice is going."

The parties were recommended to settle their disputes among themselves.

Among the early residents at the ferry were two other butchers, named THOMAS WILLET and WILLIAM HARCK, who occasionally brought meat across the river to supply the *Manhattanese*; but in consequence of their not paying the lawful excise, Harck was called before the Court, in 1656, when he stated, "That he killed four cattle for "Mr. Thomas Willet o'er at the ferry, and he is "ignorant if he must pay excise for them." He was ordered to pay, "either himself or by Mr. "Willet."

These Ferry residents were considered a part of Brooklyn, or so it would appear from Dominie Selyns letter, dated "4 October, 1660," in which he said—"To Breuckelen appertans also the *Ferry, the Walebocht and Gujanus*. I found "at Breuckelen 1 Elder; 2 Deacons; 24 mem bers; 31 Householders and 134 persons:—We "do not preach in any Church, but in a barn "and shall God willing erect a church in the "winter, by the co-operation of the people."

Governor Nichols' Map of 1664, shows about a half-a-dozen houses near the Ferry; while on the hill, back, a short mile, were a few more buildings, which then constituted the principal settlement called BREUCKELEN.

These early settlers, and those more particularly who were agriculturists, found much of the land on Long Island excellent for grazing purposes, and many soon turned their attention to stock raising. The breed of cattle which they had

brought with them from Holland appeared to do very well, and those, as Vanderdonk says, "Which are kept in the highlands at Amersfoort, [Flatlands] "where they thrive as well as in Holland: the increase is not quite as large, "but the stock give milk enough, thrive well in "pasture, and yield much tallow." Thus it appears that the Dutch cattle answered very well for the early settlers; but, as soon as the English breeds were introduced, the difference between them was so marked, that the Dutch Cattle "were "held in small esteem, and were not so valuable "as they had heretofore been." The latter were generally coarse-boned, heavy figured, slow to work, and not hardy; while the English breeds were quick in movement, with a handsome figure, more easily acclimated, and, withal, required less care and provender.

The introduction of the English cattle by the New Englanders, was looked upon, by some of the Dutch authorities, in 1642, as being "near-sighted and destructive to the improvement of "their own stock; and that the English should "not be permitted hereafter to sell either Cows "or Goats within the Dutch jurisdiction." The Governor thought so too, and acceded to their wishes; but this order was afterwards rescinded by Governor Stuyvesant; and soon after a great improvement was perceptible in the breed of cattle.

In 1675, the agricultural products, besides those of cattle, had so much increased that a Yearly Fair was "established in Breuckelen near "the Ferry, for all Grayne, Cattle, or other pro duce of the Countrey, to be held the first Mun day, Tuesday, and Wednesday in November, "and in the City of New York, the Thursday, "Friday, and Saturday following."

Near the Ferry-house, on the southerly side of the road, about where the present Elizabeth-street is located, a yard, or large pen, was enclosed to keep the fat and lean cattle, besides other live stock, which were brought to these exhibitions, usually for sale or barter; at other times, this enclosure was used for the yarding of cattle and other animals which had been purchased about the country by the butchers of New York and others, driven down to the Ferry, and if that was not ready for them to cross, placed in this pen, where they were sometimes kept thereseveral days, or until suitable weather or opportunity offered for their passage to the city. In fact, a very large portion of the cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs consumed in New York, prior to 1750, were furnished by Long Island, or rather the *Island of Nassau*, as we find the latter name was officially given to it in the year 1692.

In the month of March, of that year, Governor Fletcher thus introduces the latter subject to the Council :

"Gentl. There is one small request to you which I hope will meet with noe opposition, and that is, that the *King's* name may live forever amongst you. I would have a Bill passe for the calling Long Island the Island of Nassau." The Bill was read three times when it was assented to by the Coucile, and the Governor acknowledged it as follows : "As for the Bill to call Long Island the Island of Nassau, it mett with some opposition amongst you : but I believe it proceeded merely from ignorance : for the calling of that Island by a new name for the time to come, can noe wayes hurt or injure any former grants or conveyances of lands : I had no other design in proposing it unto you, than that we might put some marke of respect upon the best of kings which you have granted."

In the proceedings of the General Assembly, on the sixth of September, following.—"The Bill for calling Long Island, the Island of Nassau, read the second time and ordered to be engrossed ;" and by this name it was long after known, in the proceedings and other documents, but it never became otherwise popular.

The increase of population in the town appeared quite slow up to the year 1700 ; in the settlement on the hill, however, there were several buildings added to it, some of which were large enough to accommodate the Councils, who many years after, met in them ; but the main increase was in the several residences, stores, and other erections for business purposes, which rapidly grew up near the ferry-landing, and on the main road between the two settlements. This rapid growth, no doubt, was caused by the increased business there, and travel on the ferry.

In 1699, a new brick ferry-house was ordered to be built at the ferry on Long Island side, the size to be—"Front, twenty-four feet ; depth, forty feet ; cellar of stone ; two stories above ground ; first story, eight and one half feet high ; second story, seven and one half feet high ; five chimnies, with jambs, and the whole to cost four hundred and thirty-five pounds." This building and the ferry were leased to Rip Van Dam, for seven years, at one hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum. The next lease was taken by a Butcher named James Harding, who, in the agreement, was authorized to keep a House of Entertainment.

In 1717, the ferry business had so much increased that two ferries were established, both however running from the old landing place on the Long Island side : the old route was known as "THE NASSAU FERRY," and the new one, which landed at Burger's path, (*Old Slip, New York,*) and also at the Great Dock, (*foot of the present Broad-street, New York,*) was called "THE NEW YORK FERRY."

The main road leading from the Ferry at

Brookland, then known as the "KING'S HIGHWAY," was publicly laid out in 1704 ; but in the erection of new residences through the course of many years, some had trespassed upon the highway, and thus created much contention. The Records inform us that at the April term of the General Session of the Peace of King's County, in 1721, indictments were found for encroaching on the common highway of the King, leading from the Ferry to the Church, at Brookland, against John Rapelje, Hans Bergen, James Harding, and others. By this indictment it appears that the road should have been *four rods wide* ; some of the old inhabitants, however, in giving their evidence, some three years after, said : "The said road, as it now is, has been so for at least these *sixty years past*, without any complaint, either of the inhabitants or travellers." A law was then passed, establishing the road *forever* as it then was, from the Ferry upward to the town of Breuckland, as far as the swinging gate of John Rapelje, just above the house and land belonging to James Harding.

These proceedings readily account for Fulton-street, being so narrow and crooked in many places. No doubt, when this highway was first opened, it was made to conform to the easiest mode of rising the hill, and so it continued on back, through its winding way, following either the Indian paths or seeking the most favorable surface of the original grounds throughout the country.

There must have been a good deal of wild and uncultivated country, even as lately as 1717 ; for we find in that year, an Act passed "to encourage the destroying of ffoxes and Wild Catts in King's" and Queens Counties.

Up to this period, several butchers have been noticed as living on Long Island, but there were many others who came afterwards, or rather were driven out, of the City of New York, by an onerous law, passed in the year 1676, which at various periods, had forced them into several unsuitable buildings, called "PUBLIC SLAUGHTER HOUSES." For a period of one hundred and thirteen years, into some five different wooden erections, located at as many different places, all the butchers of the city of New York, who lived within certain limits, were crowded ; and there they found the honest and dishonest, the gentleman and ruffian, with the waiting and watching, the mixing of cattle and their products, the various kinds of imposition practiced, and the miserable regulations established in them, as well as the high rates charged by the various lessees, several of the descendants of whom now grace some of the first families of our ill-governed city across the river.

Many of these old butchers of New York, were among the best classes of her citizens, being not

only men of substance, but enterprizing and intelligent, which no doubt, gave them an inward feeling that they were freemen, and wished to conduct their business as other good citizens and tradesmen were doing; and rather than submit to imposition they moved to Brooklyn, where many of them became prominent and among the most useful inhabitants in the place, and, without question, tended much to accelerate its early growth. Several of them for many years, were placed in the highest offices, both civil and religious, in the town, village, and city.

I beg leave to introduce to you several of the early Dutch butchers of Breuckelen, as well as some of those of a more modern type, at the time when they first became known in the records: although there is little doubt that some of them were engaged in business, many years before they were known in the various documents left to us.

In the year 1645, PAULUS VAN DER BEECK appears; in 1654, ROELEF JANSEN; in 1656, WILLIAM HARCK and THOMAS WILLET; in 1660, PIETER JANSEN; in 1707, JAMES HARDING; in 1715, EVARDUS BROWER; in 1720, the brothers, ISRAEL and TIMOTHY HORSFIELD; followed by the sons of Israel; in 1735, SAMUEL HOPSON; in 1743, JOHN and BENJAMIN CARPENTER; in 1755, WHITEHEAD CORNALL and his sons, JOHN, WILLIAM, WHITEHEAD, Junior, and BENJAMIN; also the brothers SEDAM or SUYDAM; in 1756, THOMAS EVERIT and his sons, WILLIAM, THOMAS, Junior, and RICHARD; together with MATTHEW GLEAVES; in 1760, JOHN DOUGHTY and his son, JOHN, JUNIOR: in 1774, GEORGE POWERS and JOTHAM POST; in 1780, JOHN GARRISON and his three sons, JOHN F., JACOB, and THOMAS; together with GERSHAM LUDLOW; in 1790, BURDET STRYKER and his sons; after whom came ABIEL TITUS and his sons; DAVID SEAMAN, JACOB PATCHEN, RALPH PATCHEN, JESSE COOPE, ISRAEL REYNOLDS, JOHN RAYNOR, WILLIAM FOSTER, MICHAEL TRAPPEL, and many others of whom no doubt, there are those present who yet remember some who were quite prominent and worthy men.

Perhaps a few incidents, or short sketches, of some of these old residents, will be acceptable to my hearers.

As early as 1645, we find PAULUS VAN DER BEECK, in a slander suit with Catalyn Trico, which appears was settled by a withdrawal of the complaint. In 1653, van der Beeck was selected one of the Delegates from Brooklyn, to meet in convention at New York, to advance the interests of the Town of Brooklyn; in 1657, he agreed to pay good stringed Wampum for the Excise rent; three years after, he was found in possession of some twenty morgens of land in the Town of Breuckelen; and, in the same year, was appointed a sworn butcher in the City in New York; in 1661, he farmed the Excise of Licenses for Tavern-keepers;

and was also ordered to collect one-tenth of all the farmers products in Breuckelen. In 1663, he is found the ferry-master; and two years after, he appealed from the judgment of the Court of Breuckelen, which was reversed; and in 1676, he was found possessed of property, consisting of live-stock, land, &c., valued at one hundred and forty pounds, and considered "*well-off*"—in fact, there were only six others in the entire town who returned more than that amount, and the most wealthy of the residents was found with a property valued at only three hundred and thirty-one pounds.

We now turn to ROELEF JANSEN, who, in 1654, obtained a Patent for twenty-five morgens of Land at Maspeth, Long Island; four years after, he was appointed a sworn butcher, and began his business on Long Island, in or near the Town of Breuckelen.

The trading operations of that day were sometimes very curious; and Jansen appears to have been a troublesome one, especially with the farmers for their stock. In the Court proceedings of 1673, it is said that "Thomas Walton brings *action* against Roelef Jansen, butcher, for *sheep sold him*." Walton claimed "*the quantity of three ankers of Rum*." The Court condemned Jansen to pay the same. Again, in the next year, Jansen was sued by David de Four, who demanded from him "*the sum of ff 200, (Florins) for an ox sold about two years ago, to the defendant, and offers to deliver to defendant a certain cow, which he bartered with defendant whenever he is paid*." Jansen says "*that De Four did not deliver him the cow according to agreement, notwithstanding he sent his child-ren for her divers times*." The Court ordered—"that Jansen shall pay *De Four* the demanded sum within eight days' time, provided the Cow be delivered to the plaintiff, at the time the same is paid, and that said cow shall mean while run at defendant's risk."

In 1656, appeared WILLIAM HARCK and THOMAS WILLET, who were engaged in slaughtering cattle at Brooklyn, and when bringing their carcasses over to the city of New York, refused to pay the excise; these, no doubt, were the first brought over by them. Harck, however, was summoned to appear before the Court, where, in answer to the charge, he said—"That he killed four cattle for Mr. THOMAS WILLET, o'er at the Ferry—" and he is ignorant if he must pay excise for "them." The Court, after due deliberation, and, no doubt, under the influence of their long wisdom-pipes, rendered the decision that he must pay, "*either himself or by Mr. Willet*."

Thomas Willet afterwards became a heavy contractor for furnishing meat to the Government, and he also held many high Civil and Military offices under the same.

In 1660, PIETER JANSEN, of Breuckelen, was appointed a sworn butcher, and at the same time owned some twenty-five morgens of land in that place, which he had obtained a Patent for, three years before. In 1676, the valuation of this property, including his live stock, was assessed at one hundred and forty-eight pounds, ten shillings; and seven years after, we find the price of live stock had somewhat increased in its valuation; but, at the same time, Jansen returned seven morgens of land less; after which we lose him from the Records.

JAMES HARDING, in 1707, is found a lessee of the ferry at Breuckelen, which he held many years. He had purchased property near the swinging or toll-gate, on which he had erected a house so near the King's highway, that it was complained of, in 1721.

At this period he attended the New York markets with meat, which he slaughtered at Brookland; and in 1725, he is again found in possession of the ferry, and residing in "Edward 'Willet's large well-finished brick house, near 'New York ferry, on Long Island, with a large 'barn, well covered with cedar, a large, hand-'some garden, and about ten acres of good land, 'in a fine young orchard, finely situated, either 'for a gentleman's country seat or a publichouse," which he vacated in 1732, and removed to his own premises, where, in 1738, he is found with eight in family. His name is occasionally found spelled HARDEN, and afterwards it was changed to ARDEN—the latter of which was adopted by some of the family, who removed to New York, where at least two were engaged in the profession of their forefather.

We turn next to EVARDUS BROWER, who, in 1715, is found attached to the Seventh Company of the Militia of King's County; in 1738, he was returned from the Town of Brookland, with eight in family—all white persons. Two years after, a Committee on Markets, in the City of New York, informed the authorities—"That one Evardus Brower, and "many others living on Nassau Island, who make "it their chief business to buy, kill, and sell "cattle, do daily come and take up stalls or "standings in the said Market house, without "paying any thing for the same. These butchers "were all ordered to pay the usual and proper "fees."

In 1759, 60, and 61, Brower with several other prominent townsmen from Brookland, were found among the Grand Juries in the City of New York; and so particular and exacting was the Court in carrying out its stringent rules, that for the least delinquency among either its officers, jurors, or witnesses, the fines appear to have been enforced without fear or favor. Brower is shown to have thus suffered on several occasions.

By 1769, Brower made an assignment of his

property to Thomas Everit, butcher, on Long Island, and asks to be discharged, and thus we leave him.

The next in succession are the brothers, ISRAEL and TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, the sons of Timothy Horsfield of Liverpool, England, where they were born; Israel, on the fourth of January, 1696, and Timothy, on the nineteenth of April, 1706—old style—so they are found recorded in an old family Bible.

ISRAEL came to this country, in 1720; and on the thirteenth of December, of that year, he became a freeman of New York. About three years after, his brother Timothy arrived, and entered into business with him, as a butcher. In a few years their trade, which was principally with the shipping, had increased so much that proper accommodations could not be obtained in the City of New York, and consequently they were obliged to secure the next most convenient place for slaughtering as well as for their residences. Long Island had furnished them, principally, with all their live stock; and thus, with a favorable lease offered by the Corporation, in 1734, of a portion of its land, lying on the Brooklyn shore, near the ferry they were induced to remove there, where they built a wharf, large slaughtering place, and the necessary buildings for residences. The next year, they leased the two best stands (numbers One and Two) in the Old Slip Market, then located at the lower end of the present Hanover Square, in the City of New York, where, daily, their slaves brought over their dressed meats, in their row-boats, directly to the "Old Slip," where it was placed in wheelbarrows and conveyed to their stands.

In 1738, Israel Horsfield returned ten in family from the Township of Brookland; of which three were colored men—slaves. Three years after, the brothers, with several other butchers, were unfortunate in having some of their slaves put to death, for being engaged in the "Great Negro Plot" of 1741. The brothers, however, were very successful in business, and purchased a large plot of ground on the hill, on the South side of the present Fulton street, Brooklyn, where they erected fine residences, somewhat after the English style of building.

Timothy, afterwards, became a Moravian; and in the year 1750, he removed from Brooklyn: we shall, however, refer to him again.

Israel continued to extend his business after his brother left. His son, Israel, Junior, having arrived at manhood, took charge of his father's business, when the father erected a brew-house near the ferry, and engaged in brewing ale and beer. In 1755, Israel, Senior, returned but one slave, named *Tight*; and in 1767, he advertised—"Two 'negro men to be sold at the brew-house at Brook-'land Ferry;" and in the same year he had for

sale, "several lots of ground, bounding on the river, convenient for store-houses or slaughter houses; also several dwelling houses, with their lots adjoining, and two slaughter houses; likewise several up-lots of very excellent ground, fit for pasture or garden, with a small, pleasant summer-house, commanding a most agreeable and extensive prospect." In 1772, we find the death of Israel Horsfield, Senior; and his real estate, consisting of a well built brew-house, malt-house, with a very convenient dwelling house, built and constructed after the English plan, with much other property, "to be sold by his son, Thomas Horsfield, near the premises."

ISRAEL HORSFIELD, Senior, left three sons, Israel, Junior, Thomas, and William. Israel, Junior, followed the footsteps of his father, as a butcher, but not with the same enterprise and success.

In 1755, he was returned as the owner of one slave, called CHALSEY; and, two years after, he supplied Jacob Brewerton, living at the ferry, with beef, to the amount of three pounds, eighteen shillings, and six pence, which was used for the French neutrals then staying at the house of Brewerton, at Brookland.

In 1769, the property of Israel, Junior, was advertised to be sold at the ferry, "which consisted of a house and lot of ground, slaughter-house and barn;" and two years after, there appeared for sale, "five lots or parcels of ground, at Brooklyn ferry, adjoining the house of Israel Horsfield, Junior, situated on a rising ground which commands a prospect of the City of New York, and very commodious for gentlemen to build small seats on, or for gardeners or butchers."

The next year, 1772, there appeared, "To let, The large, new brick house, in which Israel Horsfield, Junior, now lives, at the ferry; is very convenient for a butcher." Soon after, we find Israel, Junior, engaged in brewing, with his brother Thomas; but I think he discontinued the business before or during the Revolution, as we do not find him until 1783, when he appeared among the inhabitants of Brooklyn. In 1790, he joined St. Ann's Church; and in the month of October, 1805, his death was noticed in the Records of that Church.

In 1764, his brother Thomas formed a partnership with JAMES LEADBETTER, when they advertised for Barley and Oak-bark. The next year, they have for sale at their brewery, English Ale, Table, and Ship Beer; but soon after they dissolved, when Thomas, again had "Excellent Ship and Table Beer, from the Long Island Brewery," which was kept at the store of his brother, William, opposite to Lot & Son's, in the City of New York; and, in 1778, Captain Thomas Horsfield had about three thousand weight of excellent fresh ship-

bread, for sale at Brooklyne ferry. The present Middagh-street was, at an early period, known as Horsfield-street.

Returning to TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, we find, during the French and Indian war, in 1745, he was appointed Colonel of the Brookland Militia; but this appointment causing much envy he resigned his commission. The next year, he advertised a horse lost, of a dark bay color, marked on the buttock, S. I.; and soon after, by the death of one of his friends, Thomas Noble, a merchant, and a zealous Moravian, Colonel Horsfield was left to settle his estate. The effects of Noble were sold at vendue; and one of the original receipts for goods bought at that sale, signed by Timothy Horsfield, is now in my possession; it will give you some idea of the man. In 1749, he announced, through the Press, a wish to settle his accounts, as "he designs, in a few weeks to leave the Province;" and the next year, he left Brooklyn for Pennsylvania.

William C. Reichel, Esq., a historian of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has kindly furnished me with the following sketch of Colonel Timothy Horsfield's life, which is well worthy of record, as the example of a truly good man. He says of him: "In his seventeenth year, he came to America, to his brother Israel, where he learned his profession. His residence was at the Old York Ferry, Long Island. In 1731, he married Mary Doughty. In 1739, he was awakened by the preaching of Whitfield, who was then in America. In 1741, he became acquainted with the Brethren, (*Moravians*,) who came from Georgia with their Pastor, Peter Boehler, when he joined the Brethren's Church. In 1750, he removed to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with his family, and there occupied the stone house, built for him by the Brethren, which stood opposite the grave-yard, now (1860) owned by John Outer.

"A few years after Mr. Horsfield removed to Bethlehem, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, an office which he held for a period of twelve years.

"After leaving Long Island, in 1750, his house remained in the occupancy of the Brethren, who kept up a kind of housekeeping there for the accommodation of our ministers who labored in New England and in Long and Staten Islands, in their frequent journeys from place to place.

"Mr. Horsfield must have been a man of considerable property, living upon his means and educating all his children in our schools before he moved here. He never, while here, followed any business except his judicial office, which was then considered a high post of honor, but not of profit, to the incumbent. He stood deservedly high in this community; and was a

"man of unblemished character, and of great use to our Brethren in their intercourse with the Provincial Government, as well as with the wild Indian tribes then inhabiting that section of Pennsylvania.

"Being conversant with business matters, he became a kind of public character and legal adviser to the Brethren, who, in those days, were mostly colonists from Germany, unacquainted with the mode of transacting business here."

We next turn to Captain SAMUEL HOPSON, who became a freeman, in 1735. The same year he leased Stand Number Four, in the Old Slip Market, New York; and, about the same period, he moved to Brooklyn, near the ferry, from which place he attended the New York markets daily.

A house and lot of ground, facing the Old Market, was advertised for sale, in 1752, and the applicants were referred to "Samuel Hopson, 'Butcher, who may be spoke with every week-day morning, in said market.'

Three years after, the Records show him as the Captain of the "West Company of Brookland;" and, at the same time, he returned the ownership of two negro men, named Dick and Prince, also one wench, called Dine. In the same year, he also advertised for sale, "a very good lot of land, with a well-finished, commodious brick house thereon, situated at the ferry on Long Island, opposite New York, fit for a merchant or tradesman; also a small timber house and lot. Likewise a good, honest negro wench, about twenty-two years of age. Apply to Samuel Hopson, living at the said ferry. All persons who have any demands on Samuel Hopson, at the ferry, butcher, are desired to bring in their accounts."

Captain Hopson appears to have died soon after, as we find his estate ordered to be sold in 1757.

Back to the year 1743, we find JOHN CARPENTER, of New York City, butcher, had leased for one year all the stands and standings in the public markets, for the sum of Ninety-eight pounds.

Previous to this, he had been engaged in business with his mother, who was a very successful butcheress; but in the great Negro Plot of 1741, she lost two of her most valuable butcher slaves; one of whom was transported and the other burnt at the stake. In 1756, she lost another slave by running away; and another in 1759.

JOHN CARPENTER, (CARPENTER, it is sometimes found), continued the practice of his profession, and probably assisted his mother, in the purchase and slaughter of live stock, which were usually brought from Long Island; but the inconvenience and danger of crossing the river with cattle, added to the many objections found in the public slaughter-house, in the City of New York, induced Carpenter to move to Brooklyn, near the Ferry;

from which place he was several times returned as one of the Grand Jurors, in the year 1748, '50, and '51.

In 1755, he was noticed in the Brookland Records as the owner of three slaves; and, in the same year, he had to let "A house within half of a quarter of a mile of the Ferry, on Long Island." Two years after (1757), he had also for sale "A good dwelling house and lot of ground at the Ferry, opposite Mr. John Rapelje's."

A few years after, the Assize Law of 1763 came into existence, which created much feeling among all who supplied the New York markets. Several of the butchers defied the authorities; of these, Carpenter was one. A complaint was entered against him—"That John Carpenter, 'Butcher, hath openly and contemptuously declared, that he would sell his beef for four pence half-penny per pound, in spite of all the wise heads that made the law could do.' The law assized the price of beef at four pence, that is, proportions of the prime and coarse parts. Carpenter was ordered to appear before the Board the next day; and the Mayor was requested to remove him out of the market, until he should have obtained the Freedom of the City. Carpenter appeared the next day, and claimed the Freedom of the City; the charge, however, was proven, when the Board "Ordered his License taken from him; turned out of the market, and also disfranchised." Two years after, 1765, "Jacob Brewerton had a convenient dwelling house, close by the river, on Long Island, at New York Ferry, joining Captain John Carpenter's." In 1769, Carpenter had also to let, "the house wherein Captain Francis Koffler now lives, suitable for a merchant or tradesman;" then, in 1770, he announced that the Jamaica stage would set out to and from Jamaica, every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, or oftener, if required. Passages one shilling and six pence each way. The next year, he wished the passengers from New York to apply at Mrs. Fish's, at the Ferry stairs, in New York.

In March, 1776, he advertised a run away negro, named Tom, "about twenty-two years of age, five feet eight inches high; had on when he went away, a blue jacket, buckskin breeches, blue and white spotted stockings, a tow shirt, an old beaver hat, cut small, a half-worn pair of shoes, with odd buckles. Understands butchering very well; and speaks Dutch and English tolerably well."

In the month of June following, we find John Carpenter, Senior, supplying the Continental Troops; and in consequence of the scarcity of live stock, which the preparation for the Revolution had caused, from coming to the City, he was obliged to send a drover to Dutchess County to purchase and bring from there several cattle, which were

driven to the Bull's Head, in the Bowery Lane.

Unknown to Carpenter, these cattle were taken by another butcher, who would not give them up; so Carpenter appealed to the Continental Congress, who ordered them to be restored to him.

During the Revolution, I think Carpenter remained on Long Island, being then about sixty years old, though occasionally he attended the New York Markets, when he could obtain stock. We find, however, the Sheriff of Dutchess county, through the press, notified "John Carpenter, late of Brooklyn Township, in King's County, 'Butcher, of his being indicted for adhering to 'the enemies of the People of this State.' When the trial was ordered, no witnesses appeared against him, and so it ended.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting House was incorporated in the Town of Brooklyn; and among its officers, we find John Carpenter, Treasurer; and, in 1788, '90, and '91, he was a lay delegate from what afterwards became St. Ann's Church. At this period he, with others, petitioned to raise two hundred pounds to repair the highway; and, in 1795, when the summer residence of Alexander Colden was ordered to be sold, it appears as lying "south of the land of 'John Carpenter." I think about that period he died.

We now take up BENJAMIN CARPENTER, who seems to have removed to Brooklyn with his brother, John, or a short period after him, as we find a house to let, in 1755, "Wherein Benjamin 'Carpenter now lives, on Long Island, within a 'quarter of a mile of the Ferry, and a very good 'situation for a schoolmaster." However, he could not have remained a great while in Brooklyn, as his name appears in 1761, among other members and professors of the Church of England, who petitioned for a Charter, as they wished to repair their church, in Jamaica.

This change of residence carried him a greater distance from the New York markets, yet he attended them at least once or twice a week, or whenever he found such animals as were suitable for his purpose, around the neighboring country; and occasionally some were found worthy of notice. In 1770, "A cow raised by John Aspin- "wall, of Flushing, weighing one thousand eight "hundred and eighteen pounds, was killed at "Jamaica, by Benjamin Carpenter, Butcher."

Seven years after, he was found placed in such a position, that he was obliged to promise to perform—"What he will pay into the hands of the "Church Wardens, the sum of five pounds for violently assaulting one of the loyal Justices of the Peace.

After the Revolution, Carpenter again removed to Brooklyn, where he continued his profession, but changed it somewhat by dealing altogether in the smaller animals, which were invariably

dressed with much taste and cleanliness; and these, some two or three times a week, he carried to the Fly market.

He appears to have retained considerable interest in the town affairs of Jamaica, as, in 1792, we find he subscribed three pounds, four shillings to assist in the erection of a school house in that place.

Mr. Carpenter continued in business until quite an old man; and although obliged to walk with a crutch from youth, I am told he was an active and most driving business man.

As lately as 1808, a document, dated "September, 28," reads: "I, Benjamin Carpenter, of "Brooklyn, in the County of Kings, Butcher, "do hereby manumit and set free a certain negro "woman named *Isabella Dimand*, held by me as "a slave, and do hereby release all claim or de- "mand which I have to her person or her services.

"BENJN. CARPENTER.

"Witnessed by John Doughty."

John and Benjamin Carpenter, I think, were the sons of George and Elizabeth Carpenter, who came from Long Island, about the year 1718, when the father became a freeman, and entered into business as a butcher, which he continued until his death, about 1730. His widow, Elizabeth Carpenter, then appeared to have stepped into his professional shoes; and with the assistance of her sons, conducted the business profitably for many years. She died in April, 1776, aged eighty-five years; and the press says: "she had been a very "respectable inhabitant."

In the year 1755, we introduce WHITEHEAD CORNELL, SENIOR, of Brookland, who was returned as the owner of two slaves—one negro man called TOBEY, and a wench called FLORA.

About this period, he was found an attendant at the Old Fly Market, as a Butcher; and, no doubt, a very successful one, early in life. At a later period, he became much interested in the raising of fine stock, and more particularly in racing horses. In 1770, he advertised, "A water "lot, with slaughter house thereon, situate at the "Brooklyn Ferry, lying below and opposite to "the said premises of Israel Horsfield, Junior. "Apply to Whitehead Cornell, Butcher, near the "said Ferry."

The next year, at the Powles Hook Races, "nine horses started for a purse of Fifty pounds, "when Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, "Booby, won the purse." In less than one month after, another great race took place at Flatbush, when it was stated—"There was good running "for the purse of fifty pounds, which was won by "Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, STEADY, " (got by OLD ENGLAND,) beating William Cor- "nell's mare, DOVE, Mr. Waters' horse, VITRIOL, "Mr. Armstrong's horse, HERO, and Mr. El- "worth's horse, QUICKSILVER."

In November, 1776, Mr. Whitehead Cornell's name is found among the signers who swore allegiance to King George; and it is again found, in December, 1782, with many others, in an Address, lamenting the departure for England of Captain David Scott, Commissary of Artillery-horses, who was previously posted at Brooklyn. With the King's troops, went one of the sons of Cornell, while he and his family left for Nova Scotia; or so it would appear from his petition, dated "November 6, 1784," which states that "Whitehead Cornell, formerly of Brooklyn, in Kings County, Butcher, and John Cornell and William Cornell, two of his sons; that the said Whitehead and William have lately returned from Nova Scotia to New Jersey; and that the said John has lately returned from England, praying a law to receive them as subjects of this State." They appear to have obtained their wishes, as we find Whitehead Cornell, Senior, a Representative from Queens County, in the House of Assembly of this State, for the years 1788, '89, '92 and '93, and again in '98 and '99.

John, the eldest son, in 1764, advertised a "Run away from John Cornell of Long Island, 'Butcher, an Irish servant man, named John Smith, 20 years old, five feet six inches high, short black hair, and stutters. Had on a red coat and a pair of old red velvet breeches."

John Cornell, however, appeared to have but little taste for his father's profession, and consequently was not a successful Butcher. In 1770, he advertised for sale, "The house of John Cornell's at Brooklyn Ferry, near Philip Livingston's, Esquire," which appears, however, was not then sold. Perhaps with the expectation of a new Ferry landing-place being located near his property, his price was not acceptable.

The subject of a new landing place had been before the authorities, in various petitions, from time to time, but was not decided until the early part of the year 1774, when the Corporation of New York resolved to have "A Ferry from Coenties Market to the landing place of Philip Livingston, Esquire."

Three months later, "John Cornell gives notice that he has opened a Tavern at his house on Tower Hill, Long Island, near the new Ferry, called "St. George's Ferry," where all kinds of liquors, entertainment, tea and coffee of the most excellent qualities included, will be provided for such gentlemen and ladies as may favor him with their company. Companies will be entertained if they bring their own liquor, and may dress turtle at said house, on the very lowest terms."

Cornell's tastes for these kind of entertainments, were changed soon after, for those of a more brutal character, for in less than three months, we find announced—"John Cornell, near St. George's

"Ferry, gives public notice that there will be a "Bull baited on Tower Hill, at three o'clock in the afternoon, every Thursday, during the season. Said Cornell also attends the Fly Market with sweet milk every night and morning, and it is to be found on his stall near Alderman Lefferts's." At the head of this advertisement appears the figure of a ferocious looking bull in the act of whirling through the air a dog, while another is rushing on the enraged beast, who stands prepared to favor him with a similar aerial flight.

During the Revolution, the St. George's Ferry stopped; and at its close, Cornell sold out and left with the British troops, but returned in 1784, when with his father, he petitioned the State to receive them back as citizens. Furman said of John Cornell, that he returned "as strong a King and Churchman as ever;" and that the supposition is that he again returned to the King's dominions.

WHITEHEAD, JUNIOR, and BENJAMIN, two younger sons of WHITEHEAD CORNELL, SENIOR, began business with their father, and served a full apprenticeship; but not being able to obtain a regular stall, they attended the markets with small meats, until the year 1796, when some fourteen stands were placed in the lower Fly Market, and sold at public auction. Whitehead, Junior, purchased Number Sixty-seven, for which he paid One hundred and seventy pounds; and Benjamin paid one hundred and sixty-five pounds for Number Sixty-five.

In this market they continued business, while both resided at Brooklyn. Benjamin had some of his property destroyed by a fire which took place in Brooklyn, in 1806; when two boys were taken up as the supposed incendiaries.

Before the war of 1812 began, both sold out their stands and discontinued business.

WILLIAM, another son, became a successful merchant in New York; purchased the old Sebring Mill, at Red Hook, which he converted into a distillery; and erected a long dock in front of it where grain and other material were landed. He afterwards sold this property to RALPH PATCHEN, another old Fly Market Butcher, who had previously been engaged in keeping a large number of cows at or near this distillery, from which place he daily supplied the citizens with the purest milk, that could positively be made at such a place. He however made money, which greatly assisted in the purchase of this distillery.

Into this business PATCHEN entered, and became very wealthy. He was an honest man, but rough in conversation, and at times very severe and personal; he, however, had the confidence of his fellow citizens who several times placed him in public office. The large dock near his distillery, was long known as *Patchen's Dock*: and at this

late day, we find two Avenues in the eastern part of Brooklyn, one of which is called "Ralph Avenue," and the other, adjoining, is known as "Patchen Avenue."

TO BE CONTINUED.

II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMAMENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONTINUED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH Book of the
"HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"
BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDEZ.

CHAPTER IV.

At last the natives, weary of finding food for their guests, turned away five of them that should go to some Indians that they said were to be found in another bay, six leagues farther on. Alonso del Castillo, went there with Pedro de Valdivieso, cousin of Andres Dorantes, and another, by name Diego de Huelva, where they remained a long time; the two others went down nearer the coast, where, seeking relief, they died, as Dorantes states, who found the bodies, one of whom, Diego Dorantes, was his cousin. The two hidalgos and a negro remaining in that rancho sufficed for the use of the natives, to bring back-loads of wood and water, serving as slaves. After three or four days, however, these likewise were turned away, when for some time they wandered about, lost, without hope of relief; and going naked among swamps, having been previously despoiled at night of their clothing, they came upon those dead.

They continued on from there until they found some Indians, with whom Andres Dorantes remained; a cousin, one of the three who had gone on to the bay where they stopped, came over from the opposite side, and told him how the two swimmers who went from them had passed in that direction, their clothes taken from them, and they much beaten over the head with sticks because they would not remain, still, though bruised and stripped, they had gone on for the oath they had performed never to stop, even should death stand in the way, before coming to a country of Christians. Dorantes states that he saw in that rancho where he was, the clothes belonging to the clergyman, one of the swimmers, with a breviary or prayer book. Valdivieso then returned, and a couple days afterwards was killed, because he wished to flee, and likewise, in a little time, Diego

de Huelva, because he forsook one dwelling-house for another.

The Christians were there made slaves, forced with more cruelty to serve than would have the Moor. Besides going stark naked and bare footed, over that coast which burns like fire in summer, their continual occupation was bringing wood and water on their backs, or whatever else the Indians needed, or dragging canoes through marshes in hot weather.

These natives eat nothing but fish the year round, and not a great deal. They experience much less hunger, however, than the inhabitants inland, among whom the Spanish were afterwards. The food often failed, which was the cause of frequent removal, otherwise they must have starved. Besides this want, there is still another greater, that of fresh water, which is very scarce in that country; for as they are ever wandering about, among marshes and salt-water, the drink is poor, brought from a distance and in small quantity. This imposed the greater labor on the Christians, who, while they endured the thirst equally with the rest, toted water for their masters, and even for their neighbors, since every one ordered them, and they feared every one; none but treated them badly, both by word and deed. Boys daily pulled their beards for pastime, and discovering them careless, any truant would jerk their hair, which was ever a source of laughter and unfailing delight. At times, they scratched them, so as to make the blood flow; they have nails that for any ordinary purpose are knives, and the principal arms among themselves, not however for war. Such and so numerous were these vexations, that the youth even on meeting them away from the houses, would pelt them with stones or whatever else came convenient to hand. This was for them a play, a novel hunt and joy; and as these were hidalgos and men of position, new in such experience of living, it was necessary that their patience should be great, equal to the labor and suffering they sustained to bear up under so many and such provoking annoyances. Thus Dorantes has affirmed, that he believed God gave them strength to be patient in discount of their sins, which deserved worse. Even though they had attempted to flee the sufferance of these torments, there was no escape, unless through desperation: they were surrounded by water; the country about where they went was islets; and, had they a choice, better would it have been for them could they have found death among the wilds, in solitude, as men whose fate was utterly hopeless, asking pardon for their transgressions, than live among a people bestial and wicked like this.

The Spaniards lived here fourteen months, from May to the May ensuing, of the year 1530, and to the middle of the month of August, when

Andres Dorantes, being at a point that appeared most favorable for going, commended himself to God, and went off at midday from among all the Indians, He being pleased that this sinner should go unobserved. Having crossed a large body of water, in great fear, he made all the haste possible, and, the next day, came upon some Indians, who gladly received him, having heard that the Christians served well. The negro followed him at the end of three months, when they met, though they were never together.

Castillo tarried among that bad people a year and a half later, until an opportunity was presented for starting; but, on arrival, he found only the negro, for, Dorantes discovering these Indians insufferably cruel, had gone back more than twenty leagues, to a river near the bay of Esperitu Sancto, among those who had killed Esquivel, the solitary one that had escaped from the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enríquez, slain, as they were told, because a woman had dreamed some absurdity. The people of this country have belief in dreams, which is their only superstition. On account of them, they will kill even their children; and this hidalgo, Dorantes, states that, in the course of four years, he has been a witness to the killing or burial alive of eleven or twelve young, and those males, for rarely do they let a girl live. Near by, were other Indians, who had killed his cousin, Diego Dorantes, after having lived among them and served for two years; so that there was no greater security one day than another. At this time, the only survivors were Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and the negro, and likewise Cabeca de Vaca, who was not, to the others, known to be alive.

Andres Dorantes passed ten months among this people, enduring much privation, and continual labor, with such fear that he should be killed some day, that he never met an Indian, nor did one ever come where he was at work digging roots, that he did not fear he was about to be killed for some dream, and never felt safe until he saw him leave. Oftentimes, when meeting that poor man, they would feign to be very fierce, and come running up to him, as the Indians would do in like manner to the others, where they were, put an arrow to his breast, and drawing to the ear the cord of the bow, would afterwards laughing say to him: "Had you 'fear?'"

The greater part of winter, these people eat roots, dug under water, that are scarce and got out with much hard work. The larger portion of the year they suffer extreme want, seeking food all the day long. They likewise eat snakes, lizards, rats, crickets, grasshoppers, frogs, and all manner of reptiles and insects that can be picked up. Sometimes they kill deer, by setting

fire to the lands and savannahs, driving them out. There are many rats about these rivers, but the number killed is small; for, as the natives go up and down that stream the winter long, ever in quest of food, they frighten and keep down the game. At times, they eat fish killed in that river; the quantity, however, is small, except during freshets which come yearly in April; when they occur oftener a second time is in May. Large numbers then are killed of good quality, which are dried in abundance on flakes, although the larger part is lost for want of salt, in the preparation, nor can that be got anywhere.

Many walnut trees grow on the margins of that river, the fruit of which is consumed in its season. Usually, they bear every other year, though sometimes not until the third; but, when they do yield, the crop is in profusion. The Indians are greedy of these nuts, going to eat them twenty or thirty leagues, the country about, when they suffer much privation; for, as the people who seek them are numerous, they kill or frighten away all the game the first day, and are confined exclusively to the fruit for the month it lasts. These nuts are much smaller than those of Spain, and the kernel troublesome to pick from the shell.

The inhabitants, in the end of March, when the winter is gone, eat the fish, if any remain of what they dry, taken from the rivers in their flood, and begin to travel for prickly pears, which are abundant in that country. They go, in the direction of Panuco, more than forty leagues, to eat them, esteeming them so highly that they will leave them for nothing else, and it is the best food they have in the whole year. The fruit lasts a month and a half or two months, they wandering and eating the while, occasionally killing a deer. Sometimes it happens that a few persons will kill two or three hundred of this animal; and Andres Dorantes says that in eight days' time he has known sixty Indians to kill that many, and sometimes that five hundred are slain, though oftener than otherwise they get none.

The manner of hunting them is this: as the animal strays towards the coast, the Indians run inland, where, as no people ever live, many deer collect, and these are driven before them into the sea, where they are kept the day long, until drowned, when the rise of tide, with the wind, cast them on shore. They are not chased when the wind is off the land, as at such times they will return immediately: the animal will only run against the wind.

After this exercise, the Indians take up their journey, leaving the salt water, and go inland to eat prickly pears, which they begin upon as they ripen, about August, and last fifty or sixty days.

It is the best part of the twelvemonth for this people, when, excepting some snails they get, they live upon nothing else but prickly pears, making merry over them, day and night, so happy are they in that season, while all the rest of the year they are suffering severe privation.

There, amongst those prickly pears, Castillo, the negro, and Dorantes again met and concerted about going; but, as the natives are never at rest, nor were they together, each soon went his way, so that of necessity these Christian sinners, having to follow their masters, were unable to carry out their plan and wish, they going to eat nuts, which were in plenty that year; and, having come to the place where they were, Cabeca de Vaca arrived, whom, five years before, they had left behind where the boats had been lost, never since having seen him.

After Cabeca de Vaca joined the others, they consulted together as they ate in the desert; for, being separated, they could only communicate in the season of prickly pears. Having been many times ready to flee, seemingly their sins fettered them, and again they were taken each a different way.

Six years had now passed, and in the seventh approached the season of prickly pears. These men were all apart, and each secretly directed his course inland to a place they were accustomed to get the fruit, where the Indians were not going, there being none. Dorantes arrived first, and finding some people, by accident, who came that day, the enemies of those among whom he had lived, they received him kindly. At the end of three or four days, the negro arrived in pursuit of him, with Alonso del Castillo, and they planned to go after Cabeca de Vaca, who was then tarrying in advance of them. Observing some smokes afar off, they agreed that while Dorantes and the negro should go to them, Castillo would remain to assure the natives, that they might not think the Christians were about to depart, telling them that they were looking for a companion, and should they find him there, as they hoped, would return with him. The Indians were well satisfied.

The two went their way and traveled well into the night. Coming upon an Indian, he took them where Cabeca de Vaca was, whom they informed that they had come for him. Fortunately, the next day, these Indians moved nearer to where Castillo was, where the three hidalgos, as all of them were, uniting, commended themselves to God as became their religion, and, with good resolution, like men of genuine blood and firm purpose, they set forward, determined to quit this savage life, wide of the service of God and all rational existence. Thus the Saviour guided them, laboring of His infinite mercy in their behalf, opening to them ways in a country where

there are none, and into the hearts of men, savage and indomitable, whom God was moved to make humble and obedient, as farther on shall be told.

So that day they set out without being noticed, or having any idea of where they were going, solely confiding in divine mercy, looking about for the prickly pears that grow over the face of the country, which were ending, as it was then in October: and, praise be to the Mother of God, on that day, at sunset, as they much desired, they came upon Indians. These were very gentle, and had some information of the Christians, though fortunately small, and knew not how badly they had been treated. The Spaniards were without covering, the winter had come, and, as the prickly pears on which they should have to live were about gone, they were obliged to pause, for that year, to get some skins for clothing, which, they were told, could be had farther on. They were now on the way, and in such position, that, in the succeeding year, when the prickly pears should come, they might carry out their purpose. They rested the season, from the first of October to August of the year ensuing: but in that interval they underwent, with these Indians, great hunger, more, rather than less, than they had in the preceding seven years. The reason was, they were not near the sea, where they might have killed fish, and, consequently, they subsisted solely on roots, the natives there having greater difficulties to contend with than any of the others, as they can go to some fishing ground. The whole year round, the appetite of the inhabitants is not once satisfied, and the boys are so swollen and thin that they look like toads. Nevertheless, the Christians were well treated among them, were permitted to live in freedom, and to do whatever they pleased.

CHAPTER V.

At a favorable opportunity, when the month of August arrived, these three hidalgos, having brought together some deerskins, fled, with the requisite circumspection and privacy, from that people. They traveled thence seven leagues that day, until coming to some friends of those they had left, who received them kindly, and gave them of what they had. The next day, the Indians moved farther on, taking the Christians with them, to join others, who were likewise going to eat a certain little grain then about ripening, the product of trees in extensive groves.

Having united, the Christians went over to those Indians, because they belonged farther on, and were better adapted to their intent and the direction they would take. They stopped among them eight days, eating only the boiled leaves of the prickly pear, the seed which the

natives waited for being still unripe. In the gaunt condition that they were, they dared not attempt to go a league farther. In exchange for a portion of the deer skins, they got a couple of dogs, which, having eaten, they took their leave. At this the Indians were very sorry, but did not hinder their going.

The Spaniards traveled five or six leagues without finding any thing to eat, or any one to show the way, and, at dark arrived at a wood, where they slept. In the morning, having eaten some leaves of the prickly pear, buried over night, which thereby are made better to boil and easier of digestion, they pursued their journey until midday, when they came to two or three ranchos with some inhabitants, who told them they had nothing to eat; but to keep on and at dark they would come to houses where food would be given them.

Accordingly, the Spaniards proceeded and came to some forty or fifty ranchos. There it was the Indians, for the first time, began to fear and reverence those few men, holding them in great esteem. Approaching near, they rubbed them, and then rubbed themselves, bidding them, by signs, to rub and stroke them that they might be well. The sick were brought to be cured, and the hidalgos did as they were told, though more accustomed to labor than the performance of miracles. By virtue of their trust in God, blessing and breathing upon them after the manner of the *Saludadores* in Castillo, the Indians in a moment felt themselves better, and presented what there was to eat, which consisted of the buried leaf of the prickly pear and some of the fruit yet green, prepared in like manner.

The Spaniards were so thin they dared not travel, and remained fifteen days for repose. By eating the leaves and early fruit beginning to ripen, they became better, getting some strength. The natives generously gave of what they possessed, and with such good feeling as the Christians had not before known, either from those they had been among or from any they had intercourse with, having received only wrong and injury. These went on two leagues, where others proffered many articles that they might have cure, making very festive, presenting wholesome food of prickly pears with meat, and going out to hunt for them. Here the Spaniards recovered somewhat more; and God was pleased to command that they should in ten months travel a distance they did not expect to pass over in eight years, could they live so long. None could believe the extent of the journey, its wants and inconveniences, but they who were witnesses.

After those men started, the people were grieved, and, following on, entreated their return, saying that the Christians could go the next day with some women who had come to

carry their things; but finding that they could not prevail with them, they went back very sorrowfully. The Spaniards mistook the track, traveling two or three leagues, and stopped to rest on the bank of a rivulet, where they were overtaken by the women, who, that the men might not be lost, had hastened on, as for their lives, and came up breathless and tired. They continued on together, doing their utmost that day, and walked eight or nine long leagues. Coming, at sunset, to a river that appeared broader than the Guadalquivir at Sevilla, they passed over it without accident, the water reaching about the knee and thigh, and at one place, for twice the length of a lance, to the breasts. Keeping on their course, at dusk they arrived at a town of a hundred ranchos or more, very populous, who came out to receive them with loud cries and great vociferation, bringing the large gourds filled with pebbles employed for making music in their dances. Although they believed that the Christians had the virtue of healing, the fear and trembling was great in coming forward to rub them, showing the respect and devotion there would be to touch a saint. In this manner, some pressing forward to be first, and many over each other's backs, loosing their fear, they lifted the Christians, running with them to the houses, where they offered them what there was, and the sick were directly brought to be cured. To an Indian who had accompanied the Christians, were given many arrows, with other things, in recompense for having brought and guided them to that place. The next day, the Christians were taken off a league and a half to another town of seventy or eighty ranchos, where they met such reception as the others had given; and they ate plentifully of prickly pears. Among other things, twenty-eight loaves of bread were presented, made from the flour of an article there eaten, called mesquite, the natives holding great festivity in *areytos*, according to custom.

At that place, began a novel manner of procedure on the journey, which was that of the many persons who came to accompany the Christians. Those who brought sick as to Saints, that they might rub themselves and receive cure, they would despoil, taking whatever they possessed, going even through their houses, pillaging at their pleasure, which conduct the owners appeared to be glad of, believing this new ordinance to be of heaven, whence those men came. The Spaniards, having rested there that and the following day, were taken to as many other ranchos, six leagues farther, a multitude of men and women going with them to rob all they could, and did so; for, having come to the town, the Christians were well received, and even better than before. They were borne down by the numbers crowding to have them stroke and heal their infirm, which i-

rectly was accomplished; when they and others were plundered to the extent of leaving them destitute, they being given to understand that the procedure was requisite. Among them there were many blind, and many clouded of one, and some of both eyes. These people are well featured, and symmetrical; equally so the female as the male. The blind and the many other infirmities were administered to, and if there was not healing for all, at least they believed that these men could cure them. Near by were mountains that appeared to be a chain traversing the country, directly towards the north. The Christians were taken five leagues onward, to a river, at the foot of a point at which the range begins, where were forty or fifty ranchos. These, like the rest, were pillaged, and the owners gave the little that remained to the Christians, making great festivity for them, and receiving the aid that was customary. The same night, they sent to call people from below, towards the sea, many men and women with gifts arriving the next day, to see the Christians and witness their miracles.

These Indians, to take from others, strove hard to lead the Christians to the sea-side, expecting there to make good their losses. They stated that many people were there who would give them a great deal; but the Spaniards would only go upward and inland, having been schooled in a knowledge of the population of the coast where they had ever been told that they could go out on sea at the sunset; and, until now, they were constantly fearing that when least expecting it they might come back on this shore. For these reasons, their desire was to ascend farther up, from which the Indians strove to dissuade them, telling them that only at a great distance did food and people exist; but when the natives found that they could not prevail with them they sent off to bring inhabitants.

The next day, they set out, followed by a large number of persons. The weather being very hot, many women carried water and the food for them, with articles that had been given. Two leagues on the way, they met the messengers, who said they had found no people in a long distance. All were greatly disheartened at this, and the natives besought the Christians to go the way they pointed out, but being unable to persuade them, they left the burdens and went away weeping. The Spaniards took the loads upon their backs, and went following up the course of the river all that day, until night, when they came upon eight or ten ranchos in a thicket or scrub. The inhabitants, in devotional feeling, received them weeping, giving what there was to eat, as others had done.

In the morning, the Indians who had left the Christians arrived. They had heard of this other people, and followed on their trail to plunder in

satisfaction for what others had taken. They seized the little they could, telling these how they should manage. The next day, the Christians were taken from there, and slept at night on the road. The day following, they arrived at many ranchos, where they were received as customary; and to their conductors was made good what they had lost and more, taking as much as they could carry away. In this manner, they traveled along the skirt of the mountains, about the distance of eighty leagues, entering the country directly north; and, at the base of the ridge, they found four ranchos of another nation and tongue, who said they belonged beyond the interior and were journeying back. These presented some blankets of cotton and a hawkbell, which, they stated, came from the north across the country from the South sea. The next day, they struck in westward towards the mountains, taking the Spaniards to some ranchos on the banks of a beautiful river, and they gave them marquisite and pyrites of iron, stating that they who gave them the hawkbell, which was of brass, had much of that material, and kept it: thence it was conjectured that whence those things were cast brought, if the inhabitants had not gold, they metal, at least, were in settled residences, and, probably enough, on the South sea. Three hundred and fifty leagues, little more or less, had been traversed by them from where the journey commenced.

Many hare and deer were killed, for the Christians, on the way, and every thing taken was brought to them, not a rat being kept back. They ordered that the game should not be buried, but all be placed before them; and then, after they had taken out what they wished, the rest they sanctified for the use of the natives. The women and children brought the worms and crickets they gathered, choosing to starve rather than take anything before it had been blessed and given to them, as, otherwise, they believed they should all die. These regulations were observed on the whole length of the march, until coming out to the land of Christians.

The Spaniards were next taken to five collections of ranchos, the occupants of which were numerous and good looking. They were presented with the seed of the pine tree in large quantity, as good as that of Castilla or better, the shell being of such quality it could be eaten with the rest. The burr is very small: the trees grow all over the mountains. From that time forth, the Christians did not permit themselves to be followed by more than two thousand souls at a time. They were taken from there onward a long time, traveling in this manner without coming upon any one. Finding that there were no people, they sent in all directions to find some, causing ranchos to come to the road,

the distance of more than fifteen or twenty leagues to wait for them on the road, and take them along. From that place, another new order of travel was established, which was that those who led those Christians robbed whatever there was and could find in the ranchos wheresoever they newly came, now they took nothing, but as each of the Christians had his hut made for him apart, it was got ready and in order, every thing being brought near it that the Christians should do, as they might please with it, no one daring to touch an article. They would take the whole, or such part as they chose, leaving their hosts despoiled that they might be obliged to take them on to retrieve themselves in like manner. These took them forward, by desperate travel, through some mountains, more than fifty leagues farther, sustaining much hunger for the poor condition of the land, where were no prickly pears nor other thing, and near the close of the journey they began to grow sick, when there was great labor in blessing and breathing upon them, for there was scarce one that was well. Thus were they taken to over a hundred ranchos on a plain awaiting the Spaniards who had caused them to come there from a great distance; and the people were numerous over all that region. They one and all presented seed of the pine in large quantity, which was received as aforetime, giving whatsoever they had, keeping nothing for themselves. The next day they took them onward, some things which were old and had been left them, they abandoned on those fields, not being willing to take them, and their straw boxes which they used for trunks as well. These told the Spaniards that there were no people except at a great distance, and were their enemies. The Christians told them to send an Indian to proclaim their approach; for it was the custom on the journey, when drawing nigh the ranchos of a new people to send four Indians in advance, in the name of each, that houses should be prepared for them, and whatever was to be given should be together and in readiness. The people resolved to send two women, one a captive among the people whence they had come; for they dared not send a man because of the war that existed between them, and they could not understand each other. Behind them the Spaniards moved forward with all the assemblage, moving every day, awaiting the response that should come in a certain direction; but, at the first setting out, the people began to sicken, in such way that the Christians felt great pity for them, since these had been the best people they had found. They had arranged to wait the women with their answer three days, and were unwilling to take the Spaniards in other direction on account of their feud. Then it was that Andres Dorantes said to one of his Indians that he should tell them that they

should die for that they would do: and such was the fright and apprehension that came upon them, above what they had before, that next day they went out to hunt, and at noon returned unwell, and every day that increased, so that in two days many died, and more than three hundred became sick. They were seized with so great fear, believing that the Christians in their displeasure had caused it, that they dared not look them in the face, nor lift their eyes from the ground while standing before them. And it was a marvelous thing to observe that only in the fifteen days they were among those Indians they saw not one of them laugh, nor weep, nor show any other emotion, although the parents of some of them were dying, some their wives and children, and others their husbands: thus did they suppress their feelings and bear themselves as though no trouble weighed them. A thing still stranger: the babes at the breast nor the children of more age were never seen either to laugh or weep in all the time the Christians were among them, like the aged of a century. This people dared not eat, nor drink, nor do any thing, without asking leave of the Christians; believing they had the power either to take or give them life; and that as they were angry with them they died. At the end of two or three days that they were there, the women came and brought them very discouraging news, stating that the people whom they had gone to look after had gone after cattle, and that no one was to be found any where there. At this the Indians said that they were all ill, as the Christians saw, and were come from a long way off; that the Christians should go after the cattle, upward, towards the north, and they would find people: that they desired to remain and go elsewhere; were suffering great hunger; that the prickly pears were ending. The Christians said, "No; that they must be taken in that direction which was toward the sunset, since that was their direct course: that the sick should remain, and twenty or thirty of those in health should accompany them, and one of the Christians would go with those women to discover the people and bring them on the road." The Indians appeared glad to hear this.

The next they departed and traveled three days consecutively. Alonso del Castillo being in better condition than the others, set out with the negro and the women who took him to a river where they found people, houses, and a settlement. They ate of beans and pumpkins, though in small quantity. At the close of the third day, Castillo returned to the Christians, and the negro remained to bring the people out upon the road.

III.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INDIAN
WAR OF 1776.*

BY HON. D. L. SWAIN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

VERY few persons in the western portion of our good old State are even aware that an army, with its concomitant train of good and evil, ever entered the region beyond the Blue Ridge. And yet it may well be doubted whether there ever was an expedition more beneficial to any people, than the one of 1776, commanded by General Griffith Rutherford. Important as it was in its results, and difficult in its accomplishment, the event lives only in the memory of some of the descendants of the men who fought and won the victory, and in a very few manuscripts of the men of other days. But such is the destiny of laudable achievements and unparalleled heroism; and we may expect to know that even the great struggle for Independence, by "the old thirteen," has perished with the brave ones who achieved our freedom.

In the summer of 1776, the news of the terrible depredations of the "Over Hill Cherokees," who then owned all the territory west of the Blue Ridge, and much that is now the domain of Georgia and Tennessee, was spread over the country. Men were killed by the secret foe in the most brutal way; women and children were butchered without remorse; and the scattered possessions of the frontier settlements were laid waste by the savage hordes of hostile Indians. The country was almost a smoking ruin, and the reeking scalps, with here and there an enslaved boy and the little property the Indians could not carry away, were almost all that remained of our pioneer settlements. Forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, since the treachery of savage character had become proverbial. The long confined vengeance of the whites could be restrained no longer by the professions of peace, which the Indians entered into only to destroy the more readily. And the determination to submit no longer could only be cancelled by the utter destruction of the Cherokee towns, and the infliction of such punishment as the retaliatory spirit of the times would justify. This chastisement it is our present purpose to sketch, relying for the truth of our statements, on facts collected by Hon. Archibald D. Murphy and from those communicated to us by the contemporaries of those men who lingered among us long after the war was closed, and have now nearly all disappeared from the land their valor gained.

There were three armies simultaneously fitted out by Virginia, North Carolina and South Caro-

lina, and destined to the same place, for like purpose. The army of the first named State was commanded by Colonel Christain; the North Carolina troops by General Griffith Rutherford, and consisted of two thousand four hundred men, (some say of three thousand;) and the South Carolina troops by General Williamson, consisting of about two thousand men. General R.'s army encamped near Pleasant Gardens, in McDowell county, at what is known as "Old Fort," (probably built by him,) about the last of August, 1776. Before them were forests and interminable wilds, high mountains and a deadly foe whose cunning and treachery were ominous of the difficulties and dangers to which they were to be exposed. And, however imperturbable soldiers may be when entering upon an engagement with honorable enemies and "foemen worthy of their steel," we may well suppose that "fear and trembling," of no ordinary kind, seized upon this small army, when their fancy was permitted to precede them into this trackless wilderness, where one single yell from a warlike chief would suffice to people the mountains and valleys with a denser, deadlier enemy than that which the clarion notes of Roderic Dhu summoned before the disturbed eye of the brave Fitz James.

They took up the line of march, crossed the Ridge at the Swannanoa Gap, pursued the meanderings of that bright stream as it gurgled towards the French Broad river, at which place they forded the river; and there is, to this day, a "War Ford," which derives its name from General Rutherford's having here crossed, in this expedition. They then pursued Homony creek to its source, passed over to Pigeon river, and pursued pretty much the direction of the upper road; which, at this time, goes by Colonel Joseph Cathey's. At the spot where the meeting house now stands, a few miles above the present ford, they buried one of their companions, whose hopes of again returning to his friends were here so suddenly and so sadly blighted, and the remains of whom were discovered a few years ago, when digging a grave for a departed friend. In this place, we will mention, that when Judge Samuel Lowry, who was a private in this expedition, visited Haywood county, he told some of the legal fraternity that he had noticed a beech tree, on which was rudely carved, "1706," which he again visited and pointed out. It is on the left of the road going from Colonel Cathey's to Waynesville, a few hundred yards above where the road crosses a small stream, as one descends the little gap, four or five miles northeast of the village. And when we remember that this date was anterior to the settlement of any portion of the State, except some few counties on the sea shore, we may well be excited to know who cut it. From this place, the army advanced up Rich-

* From *The North Carolina University Magazine*, for May, 1862. Vol. I., pp. 132-36.

land creek to its source, crossed the mountain near McLure's, and followed Scott's creek to its mouth. This latter stream obtains its name from John Scott, a trader among the Cherokees, a negro of whom was shot by the Reverend James Hall, the Chaplain, as he ran, mistaking him for an Indian. Crossing the Tuckaseige, they came to the Cowee mountain, probably by pursuing Savannah creek to its source; and near its top, their advance guard were fired upon by the Indians, who immediately fled. The soldiers, without any further molestation, arrived at the little Tennessee river, passed down Watauga creek, and encamped on the west side of said river, near a large Indian mound, at a town called Nequassee, now rejoicing in the revered title—Franklin. They remained here a day, and then marched down the river to a town called Cowee, some three or four miles below the present village, where they encamped and awaited the arrival of the Southern Division, under General Williamson. These, however, did not arrive for two or three days after the appointed time, the fourteenth of September; and General R.'s troops had ample time to reconnoitre the country and survey the awful grandeur which so commends this lovely valley to the admiration of the stranger and the affection of the inhabitants. Hostile Indians were in all directions; towering mountains would smile a welcome in their rich autumnal verdure and frown upon them in their lofty and imposing majesty; the lovely Tennessee, here but a rivulet compared to the flood of waters it teems into the Ohio, with its crystal water and variegated banks, slaked their burning thirst and laved their weary bodies; forests of gnarled oak and unsurpassed native gardens of richest wild flowers, and meadows of tall, waving grass, added to the beauty of the place, and compensated somewhat for the loss of those pleasures which cluster, peculiarly and appropriately, around home.

It is related upon the authority of Major Daniel Bryson, a revolutionary patriot, who also served in this expedition, that, whilst General Rutherford was waiting for General Williamson's arrival, and for whom small parties had been sent, but returned without any tidings, some detachments were sent out and destroyed some Indian towns. Sugar town, situated between Tennessee and Sugar-town rivers, (the Indian name of the latter is Cul-la-sat-chee,) was flanked on two sides by the river, and was fronted by a strong breastwork of logs and brush. The soldiers, finding it unoccupied, entered, and were immediately surprised by the savage war-whoop, muskets, and tomahawks, wielded as only savages can wield them; and were forced into the huts, from which confinement they were ere long released by a party on a similar undertaking with themselves. A prisoner whom they had taken, promised, upon his life be-

ing spared, to lead them to a town about seven miles from Nequassee, on the Sugartown, where their wives, children and property were concealed. They followed this enchanting stream, shut in by mountains so much that scarcely room is left for a foot path. This town was located in a narrow valley, completely enclosed by mountains, which seemed almost to overhang the huts, and was tenantless, save by a few very old women and children of a very tender age. Indian men were seen menacingly pacing to and fro upon the overhanging precipices, and leaping from crag to crag, with the agility of the panther, and somewhat of his ferocious disposition. But they only destroyed the town, and drove off some cattle. This most delightful place is now owned by an enterprising gentleman of Macon county, to whom we are indebted for these facts, and by whom we may expect the site of the old Indian town to be converted into a paradise.

After having waited for General Williamson some time, without any tidings from him, General Rutherford left one thousand eight hundred men at Cowee, and resolved, with the remainder, to proceed to the "Valley Towns" on the Hiwassee, and destroy them. Soon after, leaving the main army, he mistook the path; and, having no pilots, he wandered in the mountains for three days, but going too much to the left to gain Hiwassee. General W. reached Cowee, two days after the other General left, and sent men to hunt for him, who found him about three miles from where he started. Rutherford was put upon the right track; and, in crossing the Nantahala mountain, by pursuing the *Wah-zah*, was met by a large party of Indians, who had placed themselves on the top of two ridges, which made an acute angle through which the troops were compelled to pass. From this position, the savages were able to fire and conceal themselves by the ridge, so that few of them were killed, while a considerable number of whites lost their lives. The Indians, however, fled; and the troops of General R. proceeded, unmolested, to the Hiwassee towns, burned them, cut down their corn, destroyed their beans, potatoes, &c., killed twelve Indians in one town, and took six prisoners. General Williamson arrived soon after; but, as the work was accomplished, took his route for home up the Hiwassee, while General R. crossed the Nantahala, and reached Cowee after an absence of eight days.

To this short war may be properly attributed all the kind feelings and fidelity to treaty stipulations manifested by the Cherokees ever afterwards. General Rutherford had destroyed the "Under-hill Towns," or those on the Tennessee River, ruined the prospects of an abundant crop, and instilled into the Indians so great a fear of the whites, that never afterwads were they disposed to engage in any cruelty, or destroy any of the

property of our frontier men. The predatory disposition of the "Over-hill," or Hiwassee, Indians was also quelled; and their chiefs, in company with chiefs from all portions of the tribe, were soon found at the Long Islands, on the Holston river, for the purpose of making a perpetual treaty. This was done—Waighstill, Avery, and others acting as Commissioners. The blessings of peace followed; traders were permitted to exchange merchantable goods for skins, venison and whatever else was of value; savage ferocity and bloodthirstiness disappeared, and the valley of Tennessee "heard of war no more."

General Williamson came with his two thousand South Carolinians through the Rabun gap, and in descending Tennessee river, about nine miles South of where Franklin now stands, in the neighborhood of Smith's bridge, fell into an ambuscade prepared by the wily foe. The contest was of considerable duration, of determined bravery on both sides, and somewhat destructive to both parties. The ambush must have ended in the defeat of Williamson's undertaking, had not Edward Hampton, in command of only thirty regulars, attacked the foe unexpectedly in the rear, and thus deprived them of the only chance they had of escape, without crossing the mountain, which jutted into the river, leaving only space enough for a trail, in the very fairest reach of the General and Hampton's shot. Hampton had just learned that his brother's wife and children had been cruelly butchered, and this no doubt fired him with renewed zeal to punish the Indians. He is said to have rammed a bullet down his gun without having charged it with powder. Nothing daunted, he sat down in the very hottest of the fight, uncased his gun, "unbreched her" (to use a huntsman's word,) drew the load, and then, having rearranged the machinery, proceeded to the slaughter of as many Cherokees as he could. This was an exhibition of calm, undaunted courage, seldom equalled. But there was one, Harry Wolf, "a great bully at fist and skull," whose cowardice was so extreme as to frighten him out of his wits.—When the Indians had beaten the whites back across the little stream that here makes into the river, Wolf was so terribly frightened, that he crawled under a shelving bank of the stream.—Whilst here, one William Hammon was shot through the thigh, but he ran from the Indians some distance before the bone broke, and fell near where Wolf was. One Indian scalped him, and gave him some severe blows in the head with a tomahawk, and left him for dead. Another Indian came up, took another scalp, and went his way, without a single fire from the base coward who was safely concealed in full view of the transaction. He said afterwards, that, if the battle had lasted one half hour longer, he should have died from fright. The battle was

gained to General W., and he proceeded to the towns where General Rutherford was encamped, without farther opposition.

Reverend James Hall, a Presbyterian minister of Iredell county, was Chaplain to the North Carolina troops, but oftener used a soldier's musket than the sword of peace. However, when the two armies met at Cowee, it is said that Mr. Hall, on a calm and beautiful Sabbath day, with an Indian mound for his pulpit, and hardy soldiers for his audience, preached a most affecting and thrilling sermon; insomuch that, as the good man's voice echoed through the surrounding woods, there was scarcely a dry eye to be seen. This was undoubtedly the first sermon ever preached in that country, and one from which may be dated a change for the better in the lives of many.

Whilst encamped on the Tennessee, General Rutherford sent a detachment of his men to Burning Town, from which the present stream, Burnington, gets its name, in order to get provisions.—While they were away, General R., leaving a sufficient force at the camp, set out with his army to the Hiwassee towns. The detachment happened to see his army approaching, and, shouting *The Indians! The Indians!*, made a precipitate retreat. The officer in command, finding his men more alert than himself, when likely to be left behind, would call a halt; but whenever in front he was for no delay whilst the Indians were so near.

And now that the officers, and privates of this expedition are all sleeping the sleep of death, save old Hogbite, who was noticed in our April Magazine, and the "sober second thought" has resumed its sway, we can but feel that such an enterprise was necessary, to check the dreadful havoc inflicted by the Indians. Yet that question will arise—"Had we a right to force the poor *"cupants* from their possessions and appropriate *"them to ourselves?"* Human nature may ever be too cowardly to interpose an objection to the titles acquired by our fathers; but the time will come, when retributive justice will plead the Indian's cause with more than an angel's eloquence, and with far greater success than is ever witnessed in earthly tribunals.

IV.—THE PURITANS AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The following articles will speak for themselves. They treat of a subject which has already been very ably discussed in our pages; and we offer no apology for continuing to present it to our readers.—Editor HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

I.

[From *The Morning Cleveland Herald*, April 8, 1867.]

THE PILGRIM FATHERS AND THE PURITANS.

Under the title of *A Memorial to the Pilgrim*

Fathers, the Reverend S. G. Buckingham, Pastor of the South Church of Springfield, Massachusetts, has published in pamphlet form an address delivered by him on "Forefathers Day." Well written the discourse is, but it is open to criticism of a graver character than belongs to a discussion of its style. A New England minister, preaching in a New England Church, on the subject of the founders of New England, and on the New England anniversary, would naturally be expected to speak intelligently on the subject he had chosen; and yet, at the outset, we find him tripping in history, and perpetuating a popular error which has been so clearly exposed that no person, claiming any knowledge of New England history, can be excused for ignorance on the subject. That the "Pilgrim Fathers" were not "Puritans" has become an established fact, though the Reverend Mr. Buckingham does not seem to be aware of it.

On the first page of his pamphlet he says, "The Puritans went over to Holland, and established themselves for a few years in Leyden." Neal, to whom he frequently refers, tells us they were "rigid Separatists—Messrs. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith and Robinson were the leaders." Neal, in his account of the adventurers from Delft-Haven, speaks of Robinson at the "Father of the Independents." (Separatists and Independents are synonymous terms.) According to Baylis, in his *History of Plymouth*, Robinson and his associates, as early as 1602, "entered into a covenant to conform to the doctrines of the Primitive Church, and totally separated themselves from the Established Church;" that he adopted the creed of Calvin; was a "rigid and unyielding Separatist;" and the final arrangement before the sailing of the *Speedwell* was, that they would "be an absolute Church by themselves," and Brewster its ruling Elder. Palfrey places Brewster and Robinson among the early *Separatists* at Scrooby—the former the most prominent member and the latter as Teacher.

Allen, in his biography of Brewster and Robinson, drawn from the best historical sources, fully confirms the statements of Baylis and Palfrey, yet Mr. Buckingham calls Plymouth "a Puritan colony;" and enumerates Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Brewster, of "Puritan faith," all of whom were "unyielding Separatists." Our author says the Puritans "held to certain superstitious notions like witchcraft," but comforts himself with the reflection that only a score of witches perished. The Separatists held no such "superstitious notions;" and among the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, the law against witchcraft was a dead letter, and no punishment was inflicted under it; and if we may credit Fuller, the belief in the existence of witchcraft among the intelligent people of England was exploded before the beginning of the seventeenth Century.

Reference is made to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, who came over in 1629, and as the shores of England were fading from view, indulged in the following apostrophe: "We will not say as the Separatists are wont to say at their leaving England—'Farewell Babylon! Far well Rome!' but we will say 'Farewell dear England! Farewell 'the Church of God in England.'—We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Churches of England."—Who were those Separatists alluded to by Mr. Higginson? Surely none other but the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*.

The first organized Puritan community in New England was composed of fisherman at Cape Ann, in 1626, under charge of Roger Conant, who had "lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid Separation" (See PALFREY.) These adventurers, the next year, removed to Naumkeag, (now Salem) and were finally under the charge of "John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester."

Small additions were made to the Puritans, up to 1629, when six vessels were dispatched from England with settlers, among whom were Skelton, Higginson, Wright and Smith. From this time Puritan supremacy may be dated. "Greenwood and Penry were put to death," but not as Puritan martyrs, as Mr. Buckingham would infer. They were *Separatists* (PALFREY).—"Two thousand of the ablest and best ministers of the Established Church were driven out of the ministry and silenced * * * because they could not with truth subscribe to the requirements of such a church." These were *Puritans*. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some other objects of aversion, they thought smelt of Popery and could not tolerate; yet the fat livings of the Church induced the Puritan clergy to hold on to their benefices, while they refused to conform to the established forms of the Church. It has been pertinently said by Lingard. "It will remain a difficult task to show on what just ground men could expect to retain their livings, while they refused to submit to the discipline of that Church by which they were employed." How long would the Reverend Mr. Buckingham remain Pastor of the South Church of Springfield if he held to the doctrines of Arminius?

As Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin and Huss separated from the corrupt Church of Rome, so Barrowe, Greenwood, Brewster, Robinson, and their coadjutors, separated from the hardly less corrupt hierarchy of Henry VIIIth. They did not allow their longing for the flesh-pots of the Church to prevent a total separation. The distinction between the Puritans and Separatists was marked, broad, and clear.

We owe much to the Puritans for free institutions; we venerate their virtues, and their descend-

ants look back with pride to so noble an ancestry; but the vindication of the truth of history demands that the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* be not confounded with another religious sect that settled at Salem and Boston some years after, "which was carried away by a superstitious 'frenzy' in whipping women and cutting off the ears of men, to convince them of the errors of their religious tenets; persecuting Baptists for opinion's sake; and hanging witches and Quakers for disturbing the public peace.

However excusable these "delusions of the 'times'" may have been, justice to those noble *Mayflower* Pilgrims and their descendants demands that they bear not the odium of these "delusions."

II.

[From *The Springfield Daily Republican*, May 2, 1867.]

WERE THE PILGRIMS PURITANS?

The Cleveland Herald criticises Reverend Mr. Buckingham, in his *Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers*, for calling these men "Puritans." The editor says they were not "Puritans," but "Separatists;" that Plymouth was not a Puritan Colony, but one of unyielding Separatists; that "the first organized Puritan community in New England," was the one that removed from Plymouth, in 1626, "out of dislike of their principles of 'rigid separation,'" and settled first at Cape Ann, and afterwards at Salem; that those who joined this Colony from England, and the settlers at Boston, were mostly Non-conformists in the Established Church at home, and so were "Puritans," but not "Separatists;" and thus the Puritan supremacy in New England was established. And as the persecution of Roger Williams and the hanging of the witches took place in the Massachusetts Colony, the editor refuses to admit that the Plymouth Pilgrims were at all responsible for such intolerance, or that they were Puritans.

We think the Massachusetts Colony must bear its own sins, and this one is not to be laid to the charge of either the Plymouth, or the Connecticut, or the New Haven Colony. And it is noticeable that while the West is holding us to such individual responsibility, instead of allowing us to hide under the virtues of our neighbors, there are those in England also who are calling us to the same strict account. The Lord Chamberlain of London, Edward Scott, has lately delivered and published a valuable address upon this very subject, entitled, *The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor Persecutors*. He is a thorough Independent and hearty admirer of the Plymouth Pilgrims; but he will not admit that they were guilty of religious intolerance, nor even admit that they were Puritans.

And now the question, in respect to him as well as the *Cleveland Herald*, is, whether the name "Puritan" is properly applied to the Plymouth settlers? Hume says that the appellation "Puritan" stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were political Puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the Puritans of discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal Puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers (iii., 52.) Mr. Scott and the editor of the *Herald* use the term in its most restricted sense, to denote nonconforming members of the Established Church; those who belonged to that Church, but advocated a purer faith and purer form of worship. In this sense, the Pilgrims were not Puritans; they were not members of the Established Church, though they were political Puritans, and doctrinal Puritans, and Puritans of discipline, or averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the Church. But they were already Separatists, and had come out from that Church before they went over to Holland; while the Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and New Haven Colonists, never separated from the Church until they came over here. Still they all became Separatists then. They all held, when they were once over here, substantially the same ideas of religious doctrine, and church government, and civil government. And what is the use of running such a nice distinction, where there is so little difference, and where so little is to be gained by it? If the Plymouth Colony showed more of toleration and less of superstition than the Massachusetts Colony, as we certainly think they did, nobody need object to admitting it. But to say that the former was not Puritan, because it had not lately belonged to the Established Church like the latter, or that the latter was not Separatist, because it had lately separated itself from that Church, as the former had done years before, is a distinction with too little difference. Besides, usage is generally against such a nice distinction. Hume's formal definition, we have noticed, and he speaks of New England as "having been 'planted entirely by the Puritans'" Macaulay, in his celebrated review of Milton, pays his tribute to the Puritan, as including under that term, Cromwell and all the Independents, who were Separatists from the Established Church. Bancroft styles all the New England Colonies, "Puritan Colonies;" and Palfrey speaks of England under the Commonwealth, as "Puritan England," and of the settlements of New England, as "communities of Puritans." None of them make any such distinction between the Pilgrims and the Puritans, as this writer proposes.

III.

[From *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, May 13, 1867.]

THE PURITANS AND SEPARATISTS.

The Springfield Republican comes to the rescue of the Reverend Mr. Buckingham, whose *Memorial of the Pilgrim Fathers* we criticised on the sixth of April last.

The *Republican* quotes Hume to prove that the appellation—"Puritan," stood for three parties, "which though commonly united were yet "actuated by very different views and motives"—intimating that the Separatists, or Independents, were one of those parties; and after discussing the faith and practice of the early Puritans, adds "Hume's formal definition we have noticed, and "he speaks of New England as having been "planted entirely by the Puritans."

Now the facts in regard to Hume are these: In the first place, he was discussing the state of parties in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles I. The Independents had no party in the Commons at that time, under any name. Their first meeting house in England was founded in 1616. Macaulay says, "In the sixteenth Century "there was not in the whole realm a single con- "gregation of Independents or Baptists." The first emigration to New England, spoken of by Hume, was that of a party of three hundred or more that came to the Massachusetts Colony, about 1629. Neither Hume nor Macaulay mention the Plymouth Colony, the *Mayflower*, nor her emigrants. Hume, in his history of the reign of James I., says: "Puritans were never punished "for frequenting Separate congregations, because "there was none such in the kingdom." James I. reigned from 1603 to 1625. During that time, John Robinson had gathered his congregation at Leyden, which came to Plymouth in 1620; and Neal says, "Robinson was the father of the In- "dependents." Up to about this period all Non-conformists were, in derision, called Puritans; but, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, the Independents and Baptists came into notice and thereafter have been known by those appellations. Hume says; "The Independents were the first "Christian sect that admitted of toleration, re- "jected all ecclesiastical establishments, and "would admit of no spiritual courts, no govern- "ment among Pastors, no interposition of the "magistrate in religious concerns." Hume is a witness the *Republican* has introduced, and it is presumed it will take no exception to his testimony.

It is worthy of remark that Bancroft alludes to the congregation of Robinson and Brewster, when about to leave for Holland, as *Separatists*, and afterwards invariably calls them Pilgrims. The

first Puritans he notices in New England was White, the minister of Dorchester, and Roger Conant, who organized the first Puritan Church in New England, at Cape Ann, mentioned by Palfrey. Bancroft distinctly says White was not a *Separatist*.

The Springfield Republican says of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims: "But they were already Separatists, and had come out of the Church before "they went over to Holland; while the Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven colonists, "never separated from that Church until they "came over here; still they all became Separatists "then." They were involuntary Separatists, by compulsion. The world will fail to see any merit in a separation effected by the strong arm of power which was resisted till the last by its victims. The *Republican* continues; "They all held "when they were once over here, substantially "the same ideas of religious doctrine, and of "church government, and civil government. "And what is the use of running such a nice "distinction, where there is so little difference, "and where so little is to be gained." Let us examine the subject and see how favorably "the "acts, and the religious doctrine, and church gov- "ernment" of the Massachusetts Colony compared with the acts and deeds of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony; bearing in mind that we run the parallel no further than the union of the two Colonies; for after that period "like kindred drops "they mingled into one." The fundamental principles of the Independents are thus laid down by Sir James Macintosh: "They disdained the "qualification of National, as repugnant to the na- "ture of a Church. The religion of the Independents could not, without destroying its nature, be "Established.—They never could aspire to more "than Religious liberty; and they, accordingly, "have the honor to be, first and long, the only "Christian community who collectively adopted "that sacred principle."

Lord Brougham pronounced this eulogium upon them: "The Independents, that body much to be re- "spected for their numbers, but far more to be "held in lasting veneration for the unshaken for- "titude with which, in all times, they have main- "tained their attachment to civil and religious "liberty, and holding fast by their own prin- "ciples, have carried to its uttermost pitch the great "doctrine of absolute toleration; men to whose "ancestors this country will ever acknowledge "a boundless debt of gratitude, as long as freedom "is prized among us; for they—I fearlessly pro- "claim it—with the zeal of martyrs, had the "purity of the early Christians. True to their "generous principles in Church and State, their "descendants are pre-eminent in toleration; so "that although, in the progress of knowledge, "other classes of Dissenters may be approaching

"fast to overtake them, they still are foremost in "their proud distinction."

The Independents adopted the creed of Calvin, with perfect toleration to all, and practiced what they professed. They rejected not only the forms and ceremonies, but the government, of the Established Church. They ignored all Bishops, Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies. Macaulay says: "The Puritans had no quarrel with the Established Church, except that it retained too much that was Popish." They not only remained in the Church and clung to it with great pertinacity until driven out, but in some cases the Puritan Clergy most discreditably acted as spies, visited the Separatists in prison, and under the guise of sympathy and religious conference, noted down their conversations, testified against them on their trial, and aided in their conviction.

This persecuting spirit they brought over and transplanted in the Massachusetts Colony. It was this spirit of the Massachusetts Puritans that drove Roger Williams into the wilderness, where he found more favor with savages than with Christians, simply for asserting that "Civil magistrates had no authority from God to regulate or control the affairs of religion." Their intolerant spirit led them to denounce Anne Hutchinson, the most remarkable woman of the age, simply for holding to a "Covenant of Grace" and perfect toleration, of whom a late writer says:

"A woman whose life was as spotless as her doctrines; who watched with the sick, aided the poor, breathed hope to the dying:—an example of the purity she taught—yet the bitter Welde called her an American Jezebel; whom even the cautious Winthrop believed to be a minister, if not a familiar, of Satan; whom the grave Puritans resolved to destroy; and whom they treated with a persevering barbarity, not surpassed by a Spanish Inquisition. Their hate pursued her to her lonely grave; and they sought to hold her up for the execration of posterity as the heaven-detested enemy of the Church—but whose doctrines of universal toleration are now applauded."

The persecution of the Quakers, as recorded by Bishop, in his *New England judged by the Spirit of the Lord*, is shocking to humanity. The fact of imprisonment, starving, whipping and hanging of Quakers, both male and female, is too notorious to render detail necessary. Isaac Robinson, son of John Robinson, the Leyden Pastor, was disfranchised, together with Cudworth, Hatherley, and many others, for their opposition to the laws against Quakers and harboring Quakers. But it is needless to accumulate evidence to show that the difference between the early Puritans of Massachusetts Colony and the Pilgrim fathers of the *Mayflower* was not superficial, but wide, funda-

mental, and irreconcilable. Yet the *Springfield Republican* asks, "What is the use of running 'such a nice distinction when there is so little difference, and where so little is to be gained by it?' What we propose to gain by it is the vindication of the truth of history." He who corrects false history, like the person "who causes two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before," is a public benefactor. False history, unchallenged, will in time be referred to as evidence to prove events that never happened. We can afford to tolerate the poetical licence of Longfellow's "Puritan Maiden," without a drop of Puritan blood in her veins, or Macaulay's review of Milton, while in his *History of England* he advances no idea that militates against our position. Werely on History to sustain our view; we leave Poetry and Fiction for the *Springfield Republican*.

V.—NEW YORK, IN 1786.

[MR. EDITOR.—I send for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE a letter from Captain Simeon Covell, a loyal man of the American Revolution, written three years after the peace of 1783, to his friend the Rev. Dr. Harry Munro, another loyal man of that period.

It is, as you will see, only a private letter, but contains such a graphic account of the internal condition of the United States, in 1786, that it may prove interesting to your readers. It shows that the state of things at the North then, was nearly that of the South now. History has only once more repeated itself.

Dr. Munro, I may add, was the Rector of St. Peter's church, Albany, and was driven from that city for his loyalty. His wife was the elder sister of Chief-justice John Jay. He went to England, and subsequently resided at Edinburgh, where he died a few years after the date of the letter.

E. F. D. L.]

DUTCHES COUNTY 1st of Decr 1786

REVEREND. SIR.

by the mercy of God I arived in Good helth in New Y after a passage of sixty seven days & amadiately proceeded to Quakerhill wheir I had the pleasure to find My children well! I find the sperrit of People in general cool towards men of my discription, yet, there remains sufisiant of the more violent, to rendure my Cิตuation unsafe ware I to be Public, and I beleave the more so from the distress which the People in general feel (Viz) their trade ruined, by various means, which are obvious, to the smallist capassity, by many captures & depredations committed by the Algerians, England france and Spain & likewis the dutch Restricting their Navigation so as to rendure it unprofitable Nothing but anarchey & Confusion through out, Boston State at present provented of the exercise of thier own laws, by the mob, Vermont the same, New York State in distress for Bread, by means of a vermun not much unlike a lows, which for two years past has destroyed all the wheat, so that, the inhabitanse buy at New York at 8s 6d $\frac{1}{2}$ busiel to suploy the County of Dutches with bread, formerley such a

wheat Country—however, this calamity is not considered by any means to be the act of Providence, but rather the Cruel malice of Great Britain & their adherents, by sending jaunty troops whom they say brought over this insect to distress the land, however strange it may seem, true it is the People Generally call it the jermyn lows and flatter themselves that they shall soon be rid of them as they had been of the vile Propagators—I am preparing & in a few days shall be on the Rout for Canada—with my family but I shall take care to find out the Particulars Respecting the confiscation of your Lands, tho' I cannot myself be known on that or any other business, yet I shall employ others that it may be done—Permit me sir, to acknowledge your favours & attention to me in my business when Preparing to leave London I am further to request the favour, that if Doctor Munro Should leave England he will be so good as to lodge all the Papers belonging to me in the hands of my friend Colonel Ebenezer Jessup & take his Receipt for them, the receipt Please to Leave with Philip Skeen Esq^r at No. five field Row Chelsea—& let me know of the matter by a line Directed to the Care of Mr Dobry Marchant in Montreal & if anything New or important respecting the loyalists I had forgot to mention that among other Calamities hear in the States, the Indians are daily Scalping & destroying the back Settlements where ever it is Said war is declared & a large force Sent against them my Eyes never saw nor my Ears hear, such complicated scenes of distress—Nothing but complaints and murmurings among all orders & ranks of People, the Congress it seems fault the legislature of the Separate States for not adopting their recommendation, the legislature complains of the public for not holding to & fully comply with the laws, the vox popularis clamor that the tax is unseparable, that if Justice had been done the Sales of the tory Estates would have lessened the burden in a word Every man seems to incline to do what ever suits his turn, theaving & other crimes of the like Nature, are so prevalent, that house nor barn, man or beast, is not safe nite nor day, & it seems to be a groaning evil—I consider however that I have allready trasposed on time & may on your Patiance to read such disagreeable truths—

I am

Sir your Most Divoted
and obedient Humble
Servant

SIMEON COVELL

Reverend Doctor HENRY MUNRO

[Addressed.]

REVEREND DOCTOR HENRY MUNRO

No. 66 Castle St } favoured p
near Oxford road } the Ship *betsy*
LONDON } Watson Master

VI.—GOVERNOR PHILIP SKENE.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ., OF RUTLAND,
BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT WINDSOR, JULY 2d. 1863.*

Philip Skene was never a citizen of our State, but his history for several years is so intimately interwoven with that of South-western Vermont, as a co-colonist, neighboring manufacturer, friend, Yorker, tory, would-be Governor, that our local history would be defective unless furnished with a sketch of his life.

The grandson of John Skene, of Halyards, in Fifeshire, Scotland, he enters the British army in 1739 ; is in the expedition against Portobello, that year ; at the taking of Cartagena, in 1741 ; in the battle of Fonteroy, in 1744 ; in the battle of Culloden, in 1746 ; a spectator of the battle of Lafield, in 1737, and arrives in America, in 1756.

On the second of February, 1757, he is promoted to the command of a company in the Twenty-seventh, or Inniskillen, Regiment of Foot, under Lord Loudon ; in July, 1758, is wounded in the unfortunate attack by Lord Howe upon Ticonderoga ; on the thirty-first of July, 1759, is appointed Major of a Brigade, by General Amherst ; and in October of that year, he is left in charge of Crown Point, with orders to strengthen the military fortifications there.

It is in this last station that his adventures first seem blended with those of our predecessors, for now ceasing to be a mere soldier, his active habits, quick observation, and strong judgment familiarize him with the valuable timber, fertile soil, and numerous water privileges of the surrounding territory—he sees, in fancy, the narrow, placid lake vexed with the keels and whitened with the sails of a coming commerce ; hears the sounds of the saw and anvil, and the busy hum of industry along its banks. Encouraged by General Amherst, he exerts himself, and lo ! he sees the reality before him, in a hamlet of thirty families, numbering perhaps one hundred and fifty persons, at the head of Lake Champlain, near the site of the present village of Whitehall.

But an European soldier, stationed in America during the fierce struggles for colonial aggrandisement, by the rival houses of Hanover and Bourbon, could not always indulge in the haleyon pursuits of the “ piping times of peace.” In 1762, Skene is ordered to join the expedition against Martinico and Havana ; and in the storming of the Castle More, he signalizes himself by being the first to enter the “ imminent deadly breach.” He returns to New York, in 1763 ; looks after the interests of his infant settlement ; goes to England ; and, in 1765, obtains a Patent for a large tract of land, under the name of

* From *The Vermont Record*.

Skenesborough. But, ere long, his regiment is ordered to Ireland. To avoid leaving America, in May, 1768, he exchanges into the Xth Foot; but another order may come, ordering that regiment away, and to escape all future trouble of the kind, he sells out of the army, in 1769; and, in 1770, establishes his residence as a citizen of Skenesborough. The next five years constitute the palmy days of his colonial community—peace prevails, industry flourishes, rude plenty abounds; the population increased to several hundreds. Skene's foresight and executive ability develop themselves in substantial and useful improvements. He opens a road to Salem and Bennington, afterwards known as "Skene's Road;" builds mills for sawing timber and forges for smelting iron, and it was said, a grist mill, a stone barn, one hundred feet long, and an extensive dwelling house.

In the collisions between the Yorkers and the Green Mountain Boys, he does not seem to have been conspicuous; yet, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1774, Governor Tyron, by advice of his Majesty's Council, directs Philip Skene, J. Munro, Patrick Smith and John McComb, Justices of the Peace for the county of Albany, to try Cockran and fourteen other armed men, for violently assaulting and dispossessing Donald McIntyre and other complainants, of lands granted by New York and improved by them, near Argyle.

Soon comes a contest about the location of the county buildings, in the new county of Charlotte, that included what had been the northern part of the old county of Albany, and extended from the Green Mountains far west of the lake. On the eighth of April, 1772, a petition in favor of Socialborough, or Rutland, having been read before the New York Council, on the second of February, 1779, petitions were read in favor of Skenesborough, with signers all over the territory, from Crown Point and Middlebury to Bennington; and among them one from Skenesborough, signed by Skene and seventy-one other persons, all tenants of Skene, and therein it was stated that of the three hundred and seventy-nine inhabitants of Skenesborough, forty-four were members of Skene's own family—a state of society suggestive of feudal baronies and southern plantations, rather than of embryo republics.

But a storm is now looming up in the horizon, between the colonists and the mother country, over-riding all domestic questions of jurisdiction or internal improvement. Where will Skene be found in this hour of need and peril to his American neighbors and associates? He, a British soldier for thirty years, for almost a score of years a resident of America, for more than a dozen years a dweller upon the lake, the builder of roads and mills, the political and social "monarch of 'all he surveys': will he who forsook the profes-

sions of his youth and of his pride, for this favorite home in a new world; will he, the descendant of Scotland's great champion, the world-renowned William Wallace, prove recreant to his lineage, and strike with hirelings against liberty? Alas! for his sympathy with humanity. He who fought against his countrymen at Culloden, will be found among America's foes at Bennington and Saratoga.

According to the letter of Edward Mott, Chairman of the Council of War, held at Castleton, on Monday, the eighth of May, 1775, by Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, James Eaton, and others, it was then arranged that Captain Herrick, with thirty men, published account of Herrick's doings, I do not should capture Major Andrew P. Skene, son of Philip, with the party, boats, &c., at Skenesborough—Philip Skene being then absent. Any remember to have seen.

Elias Hall, of Castleton, related the following incidents as having occurred:

Captain North Lee argued with the Council above named, that as Major Skene had been recently appointed Governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, his capture would technically be the capture of those military posts—an argument of course not quite so satisfactory to Allen and the others as their actual capture—but Lee was sent with about a dozen men to seize the Major, the buildings, &c., at Skenesborough. Arrived at Skene's house, Lee is informed by the family that young Skene is out with two or three gentlemen, hunting. He goes to the place of hunting indicated and finds the gentlemen; but although he is well acquainted with Philip Skene, he does not recognize his son, and inquires for him. Young Skene promptly announced himself; and after hearing Lee's story, submits to be taken prisoner, without resistance. He and his two sisters were sent prisoners into Connecticut.

In June, 1775, Philip Skene is arrested in Philadelphia, sent to New York, thence to Hartford, and paroled in Middletown, Connecticut.

On the fifth of November, 1775, Andrew P. Skene, from on board the British ship-of-war *Asia*, writes to Hugh Gaine, denying that he broke his parole, in his escape from Connecticut, as was published in Gaine's newspaper, a fortnight before, and appealing to the Hartford Convention to corroborate his statement.

Andrew P. Skene reached Quebec in April, 1775.

Philip Skene's parole expired in May, 1776. Towards its expiration, various rumors unfavorable to the propriety of his conduct being in circulation, the Governor and Council of Connecticut appointed a Committee to investigate the matter.

The Committee waits upon Skene, and finds some circumstances indicating secret clandestine transactions, not sufficiently patent to convict him of

actual overt offense, but suggestive of the danger of leaving so capable and hostile a man at liberty, to plot against the country.

Among other and more serious and dangerous things, it appears that Skene's negro man, John Anderson, had heard of the elections of Governors; and the idea having been suggested to him by another negro, that he might be elected Governor of the negroes in Connecticut, he promised to pay twenty dollars in treating, if elected. The story circulates; and at Skene's, the day before election, Skene promises half a joe, and his guests two dollars each, to pay Jack's election and expenses; but the whig negroes refuse to elect a tory Governor. Yet the treat and the fun must be had, and therefore Jack must be Governor somehow; and so his Excellency, Mr. CUFF, of Hartford, claiming to have been Governor of his State's negroes for the last ten years, issues a commission in writing, drafted by an illiterate white soldier, duly appointing Jchn Anderson his gubernatorial successor, with a sufficient array of interesting darkey witnesses; and thereupon—election day being over—the colored pussons have a good time, an evening dance and treat—John Anderson pays the bill; and what seems magnified by rumor, a sinister tory conspiracy, exploded in smoke.

But the Governor and Council of Connecticut, alarmed at the possible injury Skene may do, very wisely require him, in his new parole, to agree, not only to stay in Middletown, the place of his choice, but also not to do anything, directly, by correspondence, or otherwise, to injure the common cause of the United Colonies. This he positively refuses to do, and therefore on the twenty third of May, 1778, he is imprisoned.

On the eighteenth of July, 1775, William Pitkins, of Hartford, writes Governor Trumbull that for ten days he has kept a night watch at his powder mill, at an expense of seven shillings per night, because, he said, "threats have leaked out "from Skene and other inimical monsters, that it "should be destroyed if art or money could effect "it."

During the summer, arrangements are made for the exchange of Skene for James Lovell: during the delay in Lovell's arrival from Halifax, it is as late as the sixth of October, when Washington writes to Sir William Howe, that on the following day, he should send Skene on board of one of the ships-of-war in the North River.

In the resolution of Congress, and in the correspondence of Washington and Howe, upon the subject of his exchange, Skene is always called "Governor Skene;" and in an obituary notice in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, he is called "former- ly Lieutenant-governor of Crown Point and "Ticonderoga, and Surveyor of His Majesty's "woods and forests bordering on Lake Cham- "plain."

On the twelfth of August, 1776, Richard Varick writes from Albany to General Gates, that he has procured "three new sails, which were ordered to be made for the schooner *Liberty*, on "Lake Champlain, by 'Governor Skene, before "the commencement of his misfortunes."

On the twenty eighth of December, 1779, Skene writes from New York to Governor Trumbull, for the release of his two servants, Litchfield and Ludlow, alleging as reasons therefor that they had not and would not bear arms; and saying, among other things, that "the inhabitants of Skenes- "borough are all my tenants under rent."

In the beginning of the year 1777, he returns to England; volunteers to join the army of Burgoyne; and we next find him, after the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the battle of Hubbardton, at Skenesborough, under Burgoyne, with the rank of Colonel, and for seventeen days, Skenesborough House is Burgoyne's headquarters.

And what may we imagine his sensations to be, after two years exasperating absence, returning as a conquering enemy among his old tenants and neighbors, the beloved scene of his former labors and successes? Is he flushed with the insolence of triumph? Does he see himself, in prospect, reinstated lord of a wild realm? his wealth and power increased in reward for persistent loyalty and signal services for the Crown?

A hundred days later, his dreams will vanish; but now, the present county of Rutland and all North of it lie at the mercy of the British army, and Burgoyne may almost work his will therein.

The extent of his ambition and hopes is indicated by the following, to wit:

The Legislature of Vermont being in session at Windsor, the fourteenth of February, 1781, the House, in Committee of the whole, Honorable Joseph Bowker, Chairman, made a report in which these memorable words occur, viz:

"And, whereas, it appears by the best accounts "hitherto obtained, that there was a government "established by the Crown of Great Britain, be- "fore the era of America Independence, including "all the lands this State at present exercises juris- "diction over, as also a much greater western ex- "tent, over which Governor Philip Skene was to "have presided," etc., etc.

The report of the Committee was no bold assertion or idle dream, ingeniously urged as argument. Evidence exists, already published, that Skene had been at work, founding this new empire, assisted by William Gilliland; and the work upon Gilliland, now in course of preparation, by Mr. Joel Munsell, of Albany, will probably more fully disclose the particulars thereof. In view of this chapter of our early history, what becomes of New York's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over Vermont?

The Vermont delegation at the Chicago Presi-

dential Convention did not support Mr. Seward. When a delegation from our State waited upon the new Secretary of State, in March, 1861, they were tauntingly told that Vermont was founded in secession. The good taste of this is patent to all—its utter falsehood may be made more apparent by a full knowledge of Skene's history.*

To return from this digression, Skene is the man of all others in the British army, regular or provincial, upon whom reliance is placed for council and guidance in all matters relative to the conquest and government of the people inhabiting the present counties of Rutland and Bennington, from his knowledge, both of the people and the territory.

On the tenth of July, 1777, Burgoyne issues a Proclamation, commanding the inhabitants of Castleton, Rutland, Hubbardton, Tinmouth, Wells, Pawlet, Granville, &c., to send ten or more delegates from each town "to meet Colonel Skene at 'Castleton, on Wednesday, the fifteenth of July, 'at ten o'clock in the morning, who will have instructions not only to give further encouragement to those who complied with the terms of my late manifesto but also to communicate conditions upon which the persons and properties of the disobedient may yet be spared." Two days later, Burgoyne's order reads, "Governor Skene is appointed to act as Commissary, to administer the oath of allegiance and to grant certificates of protection to such male inhabitants as sue properly for the same, and to regulate all other matters relative to the supplies and assistance that shall be required from the country, or voluntarily brought in."

On the sixth of October, the order reads: "The department allotted to Colonel Skene, by the order of the twelfth of July, becoming too extensive and complicated to be executed by one person, Mr. Daniel Jones and others are appointed to act as his assistants, and among them to constitute a board or office, a quorum of which is to be three, to sit every morning at headquarters, when the army is not marching, to receive, discuss and regulate the applications of inhabitants and other persons coming in from the enemy, respecting protections, sale of cattle, enlistments, and other purposes, taking care to form distinct reports to be laid before the Lieutenant-general, of such cases as do not come within the limits of their instructions to determine."

* We rather fancy that it would not have been very difficult for the distinguished Secretary of State to have proved what he is said to have "tauntingly told" the Vermont delegation on that occasion; and if he had added still more severe words to the catalogue of Vermont's early transgressions, he would have been entirely within the limits of the Truth. Vermont needs prudence while discussing her early history; and less arrogance on the part of her sons, while thus engaged, would add vastly to their credit before an intelligent and impartial world. ED. HIS. MAG.

On the eleventh of August, Reverend Mr. Brudenel and Major Skene are added as assistants. But a famous expedition under Lieutenant-colonel Baum, is about to invade Vermont; and the German commander needs a guide and counselor, and perhaps a quicker brain than his own, to accompany him. Burgoyne thus instructs him: "Colonel Skene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure you the best intelligence of the enemy, and to choose those people who are to bring me the accounts of your progress and success."

To Skene he issues instructions, from which we extract the following viz.: "Sir, I request a favor of you, to proceed with Lieutenant-colonel Baum, upon an expedition of which he has the command, and which will march this evening or to-morrow morning.

"Lieutenant-colonel Baum is directed to communicate to you the rest of his instructions, and to consult with you upon all matters of intelligence, negociation with the inhabitants, roads and other means, depending upon a knowledge of the country for carrying his instructions into execution. I rely upon your zeal and activity for the fullest assistance, &c., &c."

During the campaign under Burgoyne, Colonel Skene had his horse twice shot under him—he shared the fate of all the survivors of that once terror-inspiring army, being made a prisoner at Saratoga.

Of the remainder of his life little can be gathered. He was attainted and his estate confiscated by the Legislature of New York, in 1779. It is said that once after the war was over, and while George Clinton was Governor of New York, he revisited this country and endeavored to regain his property. Failing in this, he returned to England, and there lived in retirement until he died, on the ninth of October, 1810, at Addersy Lodge, near Stoke Goldington, in the county of Buckingham, at how patriarchal an age we do not know; but we do know that his death occurred three score and eleven years after he first began the life of a soldier.

VII.—THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN. General Wool on General Scott's Autobiography.

TROY, Nov. 30, 1865.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

In the Autobiography of Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, in reference to the capture of Queenstown heights and its battery, on the thirteenth of October, 1812, the following statement will be found:—

The General says, pages fifty-eight and fifty-nine:—"And now it was that Lieutenant-colonel Scott—whose light batteries, commanded by Captains Towson and Barker, had partially diverted the enemy's fire from our boats—was permitted, at his repeated solicitation, to cross over and take command of our forces in conflict with the enemy. Fortunately, he made the passage, accompanied only by Adjutant Roach, of his battalion, with but little hurt or damage. The heights and battery had been previously carried by detachments of the Sixth Infantry, under Captain Machesney; of the Thirteenth, under Captains Wool, Armstrong, Ogilvie and Malcomb; one of the Twenty-third, under Major Mullany; a company of light artillery, under Captain James Gibson, supported by Lieutenant Thomas B. Randolph, with one six pounder and some New York militia. Captain Wool had been disabled by a wound in ascending the heights. Captain J. G. Totten, of the Engineers, was also with the troops, qualified and ready for any duty that might fall to him. It was a little before this time that Major-general Brock, Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and the Secretary of the Province, Colonel McDonald, fell at the foot of the heights, while gallantly leading up from the mouth of the river, a body of York volunteers, with a number of additional Indians."

Lest the statement of the illustrious autobiographer, he being one of the few survivors of the period to which it refers, may be received by many as the truth of history, justice requires that the authenticated reports of the affair of Queenstown should not be overlooked.

The following history of the first detachment that crossed the Niagara river, at the time referred to by Lieutenant-general Scott, with the Report of Major-general Stephen Van Rensselaer to Brigadier-general Smyth, his letter to Captain Wool, and the Report of Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, will show under what circumstances and by whom the heights of Queenstown and the battery were "carried." Also, when and where "Major-general Brock and Colonel McDonald fell."

On the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, two detachments, a part of the forces designated as "a forlorn hope," to "storm the heights of Queenstown," landed before daylight, on the Canada shore, a short distance above Queenstown village. One detachment, one hundred strong, as officially reported, was under Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselaer, and the other, of three companies of the Thirteenth Infantry, one hundred and eighty rank and file, under Captains Wool, Malcomb and Armstrong. Both detachments landed at the same time, under fire from the enemy, who immediately fled towards the village.

Soon after, Colonial Van Rensselaer ordered the troops to move forward preparatory to "storming the heights," but halted them at the base. While waiting further orders, the Thirteenth Infantry was attacked, as Tupper, the historian of Major-general Brock, says, by "sixty of the Forty-ninth Grenadiers and Captain Hall's company of militia, under Captain Dennis, of the Forty-ninth, with a three pounder." Captain Wool, the senior in rank and the commanding officer in the absence of Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, wheeled his detachment and confronted the enemy, who, after a short but severe contest, fled in the direction of Queenstown. In this contest, the Thirteenth lost two meritorious and gallant officers, killed, Lieutenants Valleau and Morris, and four severely wounded, Captains Wool, Armstrong, and Malcomb and Lieutenant Lent, and forty-five of the rank and file, killed and wounded. Of the militia, Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselaer received four wounds, supposed at the time to be mortal, in consequence of which he ordered the troops to the shore of the Niagara. At daylight or soon after, the troops being exposed to the fire from the heights of "Captains Williams's and Chisholm's companies," Captain Wool sought Van Rensselaer to ascertain if something could not be done to relieve the troops from the fire, from which several of his men had been killed and wounded, Van Rensselaer replied he knew of nothing but the capture of the heights. Captain Wool, although severely wounded—having been shot through both thighs—volunteered to undertake the enterprise. Van Rensselaer was unwilling to accept the offer, because of the "inexperience and youthful appearance of the officers, and the highest in rank only a Captain;" yet he consented, and Wool received his instructions. Accordingly, with two hundred and forty men, including officers, and a small detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Randolph, and Captain Ogilvie, with his company, who had just joined, he ascended the heights; surprised Captains Williams's and Chisholm's companies, who ran down the heights; and captured the battery. Major-general Brock and his two aides-de-camp (as Tupper says in his history) were in the battery when the Thirteenth fired into it, and barely escaped capture, "They had not even time to mount their horses, but precipitately ran down the heights." On arriving at the village, General Brock organized a force under Captain Williams, and again ascended the heights, and drove back Captain Wool's forces to the edge of the precipice, which they had a short time before ascended, where they were rallied, and in turn repelled Brock, and again drove him and his forces part way down the heights, where he rallied his favorite corps, the Forty-ninth, and again advanced to regain his lost position. At that moment,

he was joined by Colonel McDonald, with two companies of York volunteers from Brown's Point; and at the instant when he ordered McDonald to "Push on the York volunteers," he fell. The Colonel, obeyed the orders of his beloved chief, and "with the hereditary courage of his race, charged up the hill;" but he was repelled by the Thirteenth Infantry, when he and the Attorney-general of Upper Canada fell, mortally wounded. "The flank companies of the Forty-ninth having suffered severely, and both the Captains being wounded, the troops retreated in front of Vromont's battery," some distance below Queenstown and the crossings of the river, leaving eleven prisoners, including an Indian Chief, in the possession of Captain Wool. Soon after, Captain Wool was joined by Captain Lawrence, of the Thirteenth, and Captain Machesney, of the Sixth Infantry, who was introduced to Captain Wool by Lawrence. At no time previous to this, had Captain Machesney been with the troops that carried the "heights and battery." Also Lieutenant Smith joined with thirty Rochester Rifles. The latter, while passing through Queenstown, released Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, Major Mullany, and one or two other officers, who had been captured while crossing the river. Mullany crossed to Lewiston; but Fenwick was too severely wounded to be moved. About the same time, a number of officers arrived on the heights, with a detachment of militia—among others Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, who took command of his detachment the first time after it left Lewiston. Captain Wool, being nearly exhausted with the loss of blood and the fatigues of the morning, after getting his wounds dressed by Assistant-surgeon John McCall, by order of Colonel Chrystie, crossed to Lewiston.

Thus a condensed, but, as is believed, true and faithful history is presented of the gallant services rendered by the first two detachments which crossed the Niagara Strait, on the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, and of the officers and men of the Thirteenth Infantry, two hundred and forty strong, who "carried the heights and 'battery,'" and afterwards defeated Major-general Brock, when he and Colonel McDonald fell, not at the foot of the heights nor previous to the capture of the battery, as stated by Lieutenant-general Scott. The officers who participated in these gallant achievements will be discovered in what follows from Reports of Major-general Van Rensselaer and Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie. Major-general Van Rensselaer, in his Report to Brigadier-general Smyth, dated the twenty-fourth of October, 1812, says:—"I conceive it a duty I owe to myself, to merit, and to the service, to recommend to your particular notice and favor, 'and through you, Sir, to Major-general Dearborn, "the following brave officers who distinguished themselves in the first detachment of troops who

"were engaged in storming the redoubt on the heights of Queenstown, on the thirteenth instant:—Captains Wool and Ogilvie; Lieutenants Kearney, Carr, Huganin and Sammons, of the Thirteenth Infantry; Lieutenants Randolph and Gansevoort, of the Artillery."

The name of Lieutenant Reab and Assistant-surgeon John McCall should have been added.

General Van Rensselaer addressed to Captain Wool the following letter, dated the twenty-fourth of December, 1812:—

"SIR.—In my official despatch to General Dearborn, I was not sufficiently informed to do justice to your bravery and good conduct in the attack of the enemy on the heights of Queenstown. The manner in which you meet and repulsed the troops of General Brock, with the party under your command, merits the notice of Government, and I hope your promotion will stimulate others to emulate your example."

Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie, in his Report, dated the twenty-second of February, 1813, on his return as prisoner of war, to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, made the following statement, in a detailed report of the affair of Queenstown. Referring to the first engagement, the capture of the heights, and the defeat of General Brock, he says—"In this affair, Captain Wool, of the Thirteenth, a gallant officer, commanded, and displayed a firmness and activity in the highest degree honorable to him. Captain Ogilvie and Lieutenant Kearney, Second-lieutenant Randolph, of the Light Artillery, and Carr and Huganin, of the Thirteenth, and Ensign Reab were also highly distinguished. On the part of the British, General Brock and his aid, Colonel McDonald, fell; both of the officers of the Forty-ninth were wounded; and they lost about twenty or thirty prisoners, mostly wounded."

By all which it will be perceived that only three of the officers named by Lieutenant-general Scott, in his *Autobiography*, page fifty-eight, ascended the heights and carried the battery. These were Captains Wool and Ogilvie, and Lieutenant Thomas B. Randolph; and no other officers named by the General appeared on the heights, until after the defeat of General Brock and his troops had retreated to Vromont's battery. It will also be perceived that Major-general Brock and Colonel McDonald did not fall "a little before," but *after* the heights and battery had been carried. See page fifty-nine of the *Autobiography*,

JOHN E. WOOL.

VI.—"NEAR FORT POPHAM."

MR. EDITOR,

Your correspondent H., in the September number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, appears to

have taken much pains to make the geography of the region in which Fort Popham is situated, contribute a little support to his conjecture—for his assertion amounts to no more—about the first English occupants on the shores of Maine. It is perhaps well for him to do this for his own pleasure: but as he brings no proof to maintain his positions, there need be no great alarm occasioned by the repetition of the calumny upon the memory of the colonists at Sagadahoc. How much value is to be attributed to his degree of respect for this ancient enterprise, may be seen from his readiness to take up “traditions that the water “formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham “and New Brunswick;” which description of what has been handed down from ancient days exhibits a singular confusion of imagination, reality, and geography.

There is no need of a tradition to show that Bath and Topsham were once separated by water, when everybody in the region knows that *they are now* separated by the broad sheet known as “Merrymeeting Bay;” and all who know this fact believe that the respective territories have been so disjoined ever since the Androscoggin began to carry its many waters through this bay, to the Kennebec and the ocean. And as to Bath being “formerly” separated from “New Brunswick” by water, as the tradition states, if the writer means the British Province of that name, there certainly needs no tradition to sustain the fact, as all know that the half of Maine and more, with many a river, lie between them.* But, if he means Brunswick, then the New Meadows runs between them, as it has done since the time when that arm of the sea was first formed. The “sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the “sea,” of which he speaks, divides only one part of Bath from another part. When local geography is brought in as an aid to show Popham’s settlement to have been a “penal colony,” it would have been better if the testimony had been made to bear correspondence with well-known facts. But the theory is a lame one, and the geography adduced is just its equal.

The allegation about “the advent of a penal “colony to the shores of Maine,” is neither new nor terrible. When it has the shade of a shadow of evidence to support its “*obiter dictum*,” or whatever else it may be named, excepting truth, it will be time to examine it. But, until then, no citizen of Maine need sleep any the less soundly because of words that have been the commencement of a fictitious history, but no proof of a true one.

* It is proper for us to say, in this place, that when “H.” received a “revise” of this article, he attempted to correct what in this case was evidently a clerical error in his manuscript; but his letter containing the correction did not reach us until after the sheet had been printed. ED. HIST. MAG.

Your correspondent speaks of “The Popham claims, to whose support the Maine Historical Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members.” Now this Society is quite capable of taking care of its own reputation, and needs not the help of any correspondent from the Allequippa House, at Small Point Harbor. Annually has this Society given its countenance to “the claims” that this Colony was the first English Colony in the New England of John Smith’s Map, and has bestowed its generous aid for publications in vindication of these “claims,” from certain charges, issued from a neighboring State, against the character of the colonists. The Society is by no means frightened yet, especially as these claims are gaining friends every year.

As to the legal opinion connected with the statement of Judge Bourne, relative to “shore” and “island,” very little need be said; inasmuch as the formal occupancy of the territory of North Virginia took place on solid land, on a peninsula called a demi-island, by one of the old writers, and “presque-isle” by this last. This solid foundation is enough for the purpose of the settlement. Judge B. can take care of the legal question.

He says we magnify “the laws to be observed “and kept” into “a Proclamation of the Laws “of England.” Well, what were they if not the Laws of England? Surely they were neither Indian nor French: not the Statutes of the Realm, but Laws to regulate the Colony—English Laws, in harmony with the Law of the Mother land, and appropriate to the action which a subsequent Patent refers to as an “actual possession of the “Continent.”

There are several remarks made as if disparaging to the persons who have taken part in the commemorations. Richard Seymour must not be called by them “Reverend,” because “little “more than a boy,” as though all persons who have just passed into manhood were not always little more than boys.

“The cabin where they met for religious services becomes a *Church*”—the very name which Strachey gives it. “Every hut is of course ‘a ‘house’”—“of course,” because Strachey says “they built fifty howses and a store-howse;” and why should not others adopt his words?

Of the imaginations about a Cathedral, an Episcopal Palace, and a Market-house, there is no need to say more than that they have the same degree of credibility as is due to the “penal “colony,” and no more. All alike want proof which no well-appointed Library has ever yet supplied, to sustain any one of them, nor the additional charge that “a historical crime” has been committed by the “inscription attached to the “walls” of Fort Popham.

If the language of the writers in defence of the Colony seems "to swell beyond a legitimate idealization," as your correspondent represents, we are consoled in the belief that our descriptions are warranted by the facts; and when he refers to "the more modest and rational views" of Doctor Willis, the former President of the Historical Society, we can reply that he has never asserted the penal character of the Colony, and never will do what others have done; and that is, to make an allegation unsustained by proof.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

B.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN
VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

77.—FROM HON. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT TO
HON. JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN.*

BOSTON, March 21, 1843.

DEAR SIR.

I received yesterday a letter from your Publishers on the subject of the account of the Engravers for my portrait. It would seem from the tenor of the letter that the Publishers ordered the work in my name. This was, perhaps, a little irregular, as the person who is made the subject of a portrait and biography is supposed, I presume, *pro forma*, not to know anything about the matter. This, however, makes no difference in regard to the substance of the transaction. I have always wished and intended, as I wrote to you at the time, to pay for the engraving. At the present moment I regret to say, that it is not in my power to do this. I do not mean merely that it would be inconvenient to me, but that I have not at my disposal the amount required for the purpose, and have no means of procuring it immediately. The payment of my salary at the College ceased, in consequence of the embarrassments of the institution, about the time when this transaction took place. I have received nothing of any consequence from that or any other quarter. I am now living without expence with my family connexions until the result is known in regard to the future condition of the College: and am, of course, in no condition to pay debts of any kind.

I trouble you as a personal friend with these details, and will thank you to speak to your Publishers on the subject and request them not to press the matter at this moment. I suggested to them in a late letter that they might consider the amount due from me a lent account or balanced by that due to me from the establishment for contributions. I see no reasonable objection to this as a temporary settlement: but without regard to

any such arrangement, I shall most cheerfully pay them the amount in cash, as soon as I have it at my disposition. In the mean time I am perfectly willing to furnish an equivalent in contributions at any rate of compensation, which you or they may think reasonable.

I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

A. H. EVERETT.

[Addressed]

J. L. O'SULLIVAN, Esq.,
NEW YORK.

78.—MAJOR HENRY LEE TO ROBERT GILMORE.*

ALEX^A June 15th

SIR.

I called the other day at Baltimore on my way from Annapolis to see you & to place in your hands funds to meet my draft in case the note remitted to you was unproductive—But your absence prevented your sons finding the note. I shall be here again in a few days when I hope to meet your answer that I may save you farther trouble from your polite attention to my accommodation—

I am &c

Very respely

Your ob. St.

HENRY LEE.

[Addressed]

ROBERT GILMORE Esq.,
Merchant
BALTIMORE.

79.—AARON BURR TO CH. BIDDLE.†

N Y ORK 12 Dec 1802.

MY DEAR SIR

I thank you for your politeness to Irving—on his return he will renew the acquaintance and bring you the news from Washington.

He is really an amiable young man and possesses honor, spirit and intelligence—Motives of interest had very little influence in making him an Editor—

Seeing very often in your newspapers ground rents advertized for Sale, it has occurred to me that a property of that kind which I have might find a market with you—I never knew such a thing bought or sold in this city: Having rented a number of my lots for long terms, generally sixty years, I now find it convenient to sell 1000 or 1200 dolls per annum of these rents—They are all payable quarterly,

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the original belonging to John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, New York.

the lots lay contiguous to each other and houses are built on the greater part—The rents are at an average 30 dolls per lot. If you should be disposed to purchase, name your price and direct Hamilton, who knows the title, to see that all is right. If required, I would guarantee the punctual payment of the rents for 3, 4 or 5 years—Tell me if Jas Greenleaf has come to town or be yet up at Allentown.

I have a claim on him in which I shall probably have occasion for the aid of your son Wm. I wrote to J. G two or three weeks ago, but have received no answer

Your affec Svt
A BURR

CH BIDDLE Esq.

80.—FROM JAMES MONROE TO GEORGE GRAHAM.*

OAKHILL, Octr 8. 1825.

DEAR SIR,

Some months since at the request of Mr Bayly of this county, a neighbour whom I esteem requested me to make known to the Dept of War, his desire that his son Richard P. Bayly, should be considered a candidate for a place at the academy at W. Point, when the next vacancies are supplied. I wrote immediately to Mr Clay, who was then in the city, & requested him to have his name enrolled, with the assurance on my part that the youth had every fair & just pretension, founded on his previous studies & good qualities. I give this letter to the young man, to be presented to you by him, knowing that you are acquainted with his father, with a request that you will be so kind as to call with him on Colonel Barbour, & in case his name has not been enter'd, that you will have it done, with such representation, in his favor, in addition to what I have stated, as you may deem proper. I am

Dear Sir sincerely yours
JAMES MONROE.

[Addressed]

GEORGE GRAHAM Esq^r
WASHINGTON.

81.—HENRY CLAY TO JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.†

WASHINGTON 9th Feb 1837.

DEAR SIR

I received your favor of the 6th inst. and feel obliged by the suggestions with which you have

favored me, on the subject of Copyright. I fear that it will hardly be practicable to do anything at this Session, or, if any thing, more than to provide prospectively for the security of literary property in such works as may *hereafter* be published by foreign authors. Perhaps that is as far, in regard to them, as we ought to go at any time.

As to Dramatic works, there will be more difficulty. There is much equity in exacting from the Managers of Theatres a fair compensation for that publication of a play which takes place in its public exhibition; but, then, suppose they have purchased some half a dozen copies, charged with the Copy right, for recitation, preparation, &c. Can the law rightfully restrain the oral use which they may make of the property which they have acquired in those Copies?

I have not yet seen Mr. Bulwer's law, and will endeavor to get a sight of it. Perhaps it has justly reconciled the interests of Authors and the rights of the Theatre.

In great haste, but with high respect
I am Your ob Servt
H. CLAY.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE, Esq.

IX.—THE FIGURE HEAD OF THE GENERAL ARMSTRONG, PRIVATEER.

[SIR.—Last year, the Naval Library and Institute, at the Navy Yard, Boston, Mass., had added to its Museum the veritable Figure Head of the famous Privateer, *General Armstrong*. It was accompanied by the following letter from our worthy and much respected Consul at Fayal, C. W. Dabney, Esq., which I think has sufficient Historical interest to find a place in the columns of your Magazine. P.
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.]

FAYAL, April 10, 1867,

DEAR SIR :

On the 6th inst., I had the gratification of receiving your letter of the 3rd January ult., informing me that I had been unanimously elected an honorary member of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. The nature of the Institute, and the members that have hitherto and now compose it, are a warrant of my high appreciation of the honor thus conferred, and I pray you to convey to all those who have in any way cooperated in promoting this agreeable event, the expression of my grateful sense thereof.

Having in my possession an object of historic interest, connected with an event that shed so much lustre on our country, it affords me great pleasure to place it in the custody of the Faculty of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. It is a bust—the figure-head of the *General Armstrong*.

The morning after the extraordinary victory of Capt. Reid, officers and men, over the thirteen boats manned from the *P'antagenet*, *Rata* and

* From the original in the collection of Charles L. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the original in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

Carnation, having had their baggage and stores landed, a nine-pounder was discharged down her main hatchway, and she was abandoned. The water was so shallow that all above deck was out of water. The *Carnation*, brig-of-war, had been brought close in, and was firing grape-shot at the *A.*, when the boatswain of that vessel deliberately walked down with his mate, to the beach, opposite to where the vessel was stranded, and declared that they (the then enemies) "shouldn't have the figure-head!" He came provided with a hatchet, swam off to the vessel, (about fifteen feet) got on board, cut off the head, and brought it on shore! While he was doing it the mate waited on the beach, somewhat screened from the shot by the hull of the vessel. On their return, when running along the beach to where I was—protected by an angle of the fort, with many others who had been watching them—the mate was seen to fall, as if mortally wounded. I immediately sent two men to convey him to the hospital, where it was ascertained that a grape shot had cut the muscular part of one of his arms, and another had taken off part of the calf of one of his legs. Both were severe wounds, but not dangerous.

The bust was placed over one of my father's gates, and on all subsequent Fourth of July it has been decorated with flowers. The religious sentiment predominates here: after the installation of the bust, the lower class inferred that as we had but one great holiday, it must be the representation of the corresponding saint; and our domestics intuitively assumed the demonstrations of our regard. Actuated by a vainglorious feeling, the object has been left out in the cold too long. It has been subjected to some severe surgical operations, evidently performed by "char-'latans" unworthy of their profession.

Confession and repentance are great extenuators; may they screen me from the censure I deserve, and may those on whom will devolve the future care not have occasion to make such mortifying avowals! I offer sincere wishes for the prosperity of the Institute, and assure you that I am,

Respectfully and truly,
Your most obedient servant,
CHARLES W. DABNEY.
HENRY C. KEENE, Esq., &c. &c.
Secretary of the Boston Naval Library
and Institute,
CHARLESTOWN.

X.—HATFIELD BRIDGE.

[We have received from our friend, Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College, North Carolina, the following extract from a sermon preached on the occasion of the opening of this bridge, on the twentieth of October, 1807.

This sermon was preached by Rev. JOSEPH LYMAN, D. D., Pastor of the church at Hatfield, from the following text: "Go through, go through the gates; prepare you the way of the people: cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people." ISAIAH, lxxi, 10.

A copy of this sermon was requested by the Proprietors of the Bridge,* and on their order it was subsequently printed by William Butler of Northampton. It forms a pamphlet of sixteen pages; and from a copy which has found its way into the library of Davidson College, this extract has been taken.

Professor Rockwell very aptly inquires concerning this Sermon, "Where but in New England would a minister of the Gospel be found to make the erection of a bridge, at 'most a few hundred feet in length, a theme for a religious discourse?"

ED. HIST. MAG.]

An intelligent friend speaking of the uncommon zeal and activity of the people in opening canals, making roads, and establishing stages, said: "*This labor will not be lost; we are at work for those who will live in the Millennium.*" Could we all be persuaded to make our discoveries, exertions, and enterprises useful to others; did we calculate on a large scale for the comfort and preservation of life, and for the interest of future generations, we would have the satisfaction of an approving conscience as working for Christ and his kingdom; and then we might be assured that our labor would not be in vain in the Lord.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

While we contemplate the wisdom and goodness of our admirable Savior in directing the dispensations of Providence and the inventions and labors of men to the benevolent purposes of his moral government, and in preparing the world for the full participation of his promised grace, let us not pass unnoticed those wonderful improvements and extensive enterprises which the present age has witnessed in the construction of numerous magnificent Bridges over our most rapid and dangerous rivers. The number, the strength, and security of these structures exceed the most sanguine hopes and calculations of our fathers. Half a century passed, credulity itself would not have meditated these enterprises nor dreamed of their success. The throwing of Bridges across the *Connecticut* would, a few years since, have been treated as an ideal and romantic projection. But we are this day convened to acknowledge the goodness of Providence in the finishing and opening of the

* At a legal meeting of the Proprietors of Hatfield Bridge, held by adjournment, at the house of Dr. Daniel White, in Hatfield, on the 20th Oct., 1807,

VOTED, That Samuel Dickinson, Esq., Mr. Nathaniel Smith, and Major Caleb Hubbard, be a Committee to return the thanks of this Corporation to the Rev. Dr. Lyman, for his elegant and appropriate sermon this day delivered, and to request a copy thereof for the press.

Attest:

CALVIN MERRILL, Clerk.

+ The late pious and venerable Timothy Stone, of Lebanon Conn.

fifteenth Bridge* erected over that magnificent and potent stream.

This is the happy event which has brought us into this house of God, to make our humble acknowledgements to him for succeeding this expensive and beneficial work; to indulge our friendly feelings towards one another; to testify our cordial approbation of this laborious effort of human skill, perseverance and public spirit; and to unite our sincere wishes and cordial prayers, that the benefits of this work may be permanent and coextensive with the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors, patrons, and executors of this laudable enterprise.

It is a good work—may the good Lord add his blessing to it, and preserve it, as one among his innumerable instruments of promoting the enjoyments, of exciting the thankfulness, and increasing the filial dependence of his creatures upon his unerring wisdom and fatherly kindness.

In recollecting the progress of this labor, we should notice with submissive resignation, the many delays, embarrassments, and losses which have attended the execution of it. But all these embarrassments and losses we should hold in small account, had not the inscrutable counsels of our Father in Heaven made this work the occasion of the sudden and disastrous death of our valuable friend, Mr. SOLOMON BOLTWOOD. This active patron and principal of the design, precious to his family and connexions, and a valuable member of society, was here called to finish his earthly toils and go into the immediate presence of his God and Judge. Thus is the life of man endangered in his most useful employments; thus our pleasures are interspersed with griefs; thus would God teach us all that we have a work to do, infinitely more important and interesting than any worldly project.

It would be neither pious nor reasonable, that our grief at the losses and bereavements which have accompanied this labor of love, should stifle and suppress our temperate joys on the completion of a design of such public utility.

We gratefully approve that constant perseverance, active zeal, and expensive liberality which inspired the *Proprietors* of this structure to encounter and surmount those various embarrassments and difficulties which threatened the abortion of their enterprise; and that enduring patience which enabled them to bring to maturity the object of their wishes.

The *Directors* to whom the management of this concern was entrusted are for their fidelity entitled to the esteem and approbation of the public, and of their immediate constituents.

The *Contractors, Artificers, and Laborers* who have finished this work, have given lively speci-

men of mechanical skill, of diligence, and of punctual honor and honesty in executing their trust, and have merited and obtained the confidence of those who had committed to them their important interests and their property.

I am warranted to tender the sincere thanks of the Directors and Corporation to *those numerous individuals*, in this and the neighboring towns, who have gratuitously aided this weighty enterprise by pecuniary contributions and personal labors. To these pecuniary aids and personal labors are the public much indebted for their useful accommodation.

We, in particular and with gratitude, acknowledge the generous and paternal interposition of the *Legislature of this Commonwealth*, by granting to the Corporation a Lottery for raising ten thousand dollars to relieve the Proprietors, oppressed with their losses, and to ensure to the Community a most important benefit which was in hazard of being lost.

May the *liberal benefactors* of this design, enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of seeing all their benevolent wishes completely realized in the most durable and extensive advantages to society and individuals.

HATFIELD-BRIDGE, this day opened for public use, may be viewed as a specimen of human art and skill, of what great and noble projects may be accomplished by liberal zeal and a constant, pertinacious perseverance. It is an ornamental monument of the public spirit of the projectors and of the talents and ingenuity of those who have executed the work.

This is not a monument to perpetuate the name of some imperial butcher who has founded his fame and his greatness on the bones of his subjects and slaves; who claims rank in the page of history for having trampled down authorities, sacked cities, impoverished and made desolate countries and kingdoms, once flourishing in peace, and joy, and plenty. This is not a monument raised at the expence of the freedom and independence of nations and cemented with the tears and blood of men; a standing memento of past sufferings and of the present servitude and degradation of God's rational creatures.

No. *This Bridge*, erected under the fostering care of Providence, is devoted to those benevolent purposes which accord with and promote the designs of God's love to men. It is erected to be a bond of friendly union to the citizens of neighboring towns; to facilitate and render safe and expeditious social intercourse; to preserve valuable property from peril and loss; to relieve from solicitude, and apprehensions, and torturing fears, the minds of travellers and their friends; and to be the useful instrument of saving the lives of men and animals.

Under these views, we may justly consider this

* Can any one tell where the other fourteen were? E. F. R

structure, *an essential public benefit*. It is coincident with the goodness of God to men. It is not a futile, vain effort of human pride. It is not the progeny of avarice. It is not an instrument of loss and suffering. It is to be reckoned among those useful labors of men, and those kind events of Providence, by which the aggregate sum of human felicity is increased and the subsistence and numbers of mankind are multiplied.

May the God of Heaven and the Redeemer of men own, accept, and bless the labor of our hands and make this, one link of that golden chain which is suspended from his throne and reaches down to this footstool. May this be one of those numberless, effectual preparatory steps which shall lead on the auspicious day of man's renovation and blessedness, of that day in which all the inventions and employments of men, all their faculties and property, shall be *Holiness to the Lord*.

And now, my friends and fellow Christians, permit me to conclude this address with my fervent prayers to the God of all grace, that all you of this assembly may be as a city, compact together which cannot be broken down; that you may be builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner Stone: in whom all the building, being fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.

And when the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, may you have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Amen.

XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

21.—THE "BOZ" BALL.—CONTINUED.

4.—*The Reception.**

A few weeks ago the following editorial paragraph appeared in the LEADER :

"When Charles Dickens visited this city, his 'Reception Committee (with a red badge) were 'Messrs. Philip Hone, Robert H. Morris, Charles A. Davis, D. C. Colden, William Kent, Thomas J. Oakley, Wm. H. Maxwell, Valentine Mott, 'John W. Francis, John C. Cheesman, and Prosper 'M. Wetmore. When he arrives he will be 'greeted by only one of them : all but General 'Wetmore are dead. The General is like 'kind 'words' which 'never die' (as the Sunday 'scholars sing), and the General bestows kind 'words alike on friend and foe."—*N. Y. Leader*.

[MR. WETMORE'S REPLY.]

Thank you, Mr. Editor, for the pleasant words with which you have awakened some sleeping thoughts of five and twenty years ago.

May not the last survivor of the little band who wore the "red badge" be excused for calling up the living memories of an event which has scarcely yet lost its interest ?

The censors of public taste in these later times must not be too severe on the enthusiastic crowds which welcomed Boz, in 'Forty-two. A live celebrity then had other proportions than are worn in 'Sixty-seven.

Mr. Dickens came to us in all the freshness and vigor of his great genius. Every household had become familiar with the creations of his wondrous power. The opulence of his mind was beyond all former example in walks of fiction. The productions which he poured upon the reading world, with the lavish hand of a master of his art, were of exhaustless interest and marvelous truth to nature. The generation of our people which had grown up with the progress of a severer and less exciting literature, opened its heart at once to an author in whose train followed Pickwick, and Nickleby, and sweet little Nell. Was it strange or unbefitting that such a writer, coming from a distant land, should receive a cordial welcome at the hands of those whose minds he had filled with delight, whose hearts he had warmed with the touching pathos of natural affection, and whose moral sense he had stimulated and enlarged by his faithful and instructive teachings?

Mr. Dickens at that period had not long passed the verge of early manhood ; and the lapse of five and twenty years has neither diminished the powers of his mind nor weakened the attractions of his pen. Each successive year of our lives has been made populous with new creations that have sprung from his teeming brain. Surely, then, the enthusiasm of his former reception has been vindicated by his subsequent career in a branch of literature where he has no superior.

Can it reasonably be doubted that, when he comes to illustrate a new feature of his talents, he will be welcomed with equal cordiality by a new generation, which has learned to love truth and nature and instinctively admires and honors genius ?

I put aside altogether the question whether we can, as a people, afford to build a personal quarrel on the words which an author may choose to utter in regard to our national peculiarities. I think we are a good deal above that weakness.

There are other thoughts belonging to this subject on which perhaps you will suffer me for a moment to dwell. Those who were designated to receive and welcome Mr. Dickens, and who have since departed from our midst, were among the most eminent and esteemed of our citizens of that day. In looking over the list reproduced by you, Mr. Editor, each one of the number seems to start up vividly before my mind, with all the freshness

* From *The New York Leader*.

of life and the deep interest of a strong friendship' for I knew them well. Will you permit me to pass in review, as briefly as possible, the names on that record?

Philip Hone was remarkable in many aspects of his character. A life devoted to the active pursuits of business as a merchant had yet afforded him leisure and inclination for the cultivation of a taste in letters and a love for art. Generous and hospitable by nature, he delighted to welcome at his home all who had become distinguished in literature or other intellectual accomplishments. The struggling artist whose pencil needed encouragement; the sculptor without a patron; the author whose manuscript had found no publisher; each was ever certain of a kind word of judicious advice, and frequently something more substantial, from Mr. Hone.

He rose, also, above the prejudices which sometimes restrain the courtesies of society within very narrow limits. The actor who had adorned his profession by his genius without staining his personal character, and the actress whose walk of life had not sullied the purity of her womanhood, had always a cordial appreciation in his considerate hospitality. Many a delightful entertainment has been enjoyed at his table in company with those who, having worn the honors of the green-room, could happily bring the charms of intellect, manners and conversation to embellish the circles of private life.

Chief magistrate of the city for one short term, Mr. Hone left upon the duties of that office the impress of his integrity, intelligence and delicate sense of the proprieties of official station. It was his good fortune to hold office at the period of General Lafayette's triumphal visit to our city. The superb hospitality extended by the Mayor of New York to the guest of the nation will not easily be forgotten by those who were permitted to witness its graceful completeness, and to hear the faltering accents of thankfulness which added an enduring charm to the occasion.

Robert H. Morris, one of a family closely connected with the events of the Revolutionary era, was better known while mingling with the stirring political events of his day than in any other relation to the public. A member of the legal profession, he was Mayor of the city at the time of Mr. Dickens's visit, and had previously filled the office of Recorder with ability and credit. He was prompt and efficient in public business, impulsive in manner, warm in his attachments, and possessed in an eminent degree that rare power of extemporaneous eloquence which successfully holds an audience and goes far to sway a party. Few men have ever enjoyed more fully the confidence of his associates and friends, in public and private life, than did Robert H. Morris. He died in the maturity of his powers and usefulness.

Charles Augustus Davis was a merchant extensively engaged in foreign commerce. His standing on 'Change was among the first, but he had a soul above and beyond the boundaries of trade. Early in life, he discovered that his pen was adapted to other uses than to frame invoices or to sign bills of exchange. The letters of Major Jack Downing at once attained a wide celebrity, and secured literary distinction for their author. Sharp and pungent criticism on public men and measures, written in a quaint style of orthography and expression, made up the substance of these semi-anonymous publications; and their effect was frequently felt in the warm discussions of their day. It is not known that Mr. Davis extended his writings beyond the range of these letters. He was prominent for many years in most of the active movements of the business community, during which his public spirit was frequently evinced. His polished deportment and genial manner made him an especial favorite in the business and social circles of the city.

Grandson of the old Colonial Lieutenant-governor, son of one of the most respected and honored of our elder citizens of a past era, David C. Colden was a man to be loved and remembered for qualities that adorn human nature. It would be difficult to call to mind a more perfect gentleman—modest, accomplished, generous, and honorable. Mr. Colden mingled rarely in the mere business concerns of life, but, with the advantages of fortune and position, he was alive to the active influences which spring from a graceful recognition of what the community owes to talent, and genius, and personal distinction. Always ready and earnest in movements that called forth public spirit and awakened public appreciation, his influence was widely felt and acknowledged. It would be a difficult task to find another qualified and worthy to fill the place left void by the death of David C. Colden.

But how shall I presume to speak of Thomas J. Oakley and William Kent? The one filling the highest place in public estimation as an upright and learned jurist: the other by his gentle demeanor, polished manners, and large erudition, worthy to accept the mantle dropped by his venerated ancestor. I must leave to your skilful and more appropriate handling, Mr. Editor, the duty of depicting the characters of Judges Oakley and Kent.

Who that remembers the person of William H. Maxwell, does not recall with pleasure the joyous nature of that soul of wit? How he filled a company with irrepressible hilarity! While in the practice of the more serious duties of his profession at the bar, he was a staid and grave counsellor; but in the companionship he loved, his exuberant humor was such that the preservation of all power of face in his listeners was at an end.

We have rarely known so effective a story-teller; certainly not one who could so completely merge his identity in the narrative he was giving of the thoughts, words, and actions of another. This peculiar gift rendered Colonel Maxwell a much-courted favorite in the society with which he lived. His loss was deeply felt, and has not been supplied. "Alas, poor Yorick!"

Valentine Mott and John C. Cheesman, though not, strictly speaking, contemporaries, yet both filled a high position, side by side, in the ranks of science. Doctor Mott was by many years the elder, and was, beyond question, regarded, at home and abroad, as the most skillful operative surgeon of his time. But lately departed, at an advanced age, he left the example of a long life earnestly and steadily devoted to the best interests of humanity. Attached to the Society of Friends in his early youth, he was noted for the scrupulous and staid demeanor which distinctly marks its members. Doctor Mott, on his return from a tour in Europe, published an interesting account of his travels, which attracted a good deal of attention.

Doctor Cheesman, at an early age, became prominent as a skillful and popular surgeon, and during his not protracted life maintained a high reputation as an upright and useful citizen.

The last of these notable men was so widely known, admired, and loved, that any effort of mine would vainly seek to add to the lustre of his name. John W. Francis was among the most distinguished of the physicians of our city, and held his place at the head of his profession to the end of his long and brilliant career. He had followed in the footsteps of that grand old class of doctors which comprised Hosack, Post, Kissam, and a few others of the same stamp, the reputation of whose practice had come down to us through the traditions of almost a century. But it was in other relations that Francis enjoyed an almost unequalled repute. He was the custodian of our local history, and his veneration for antiquity was largely developed. His Sunday evening reunions collected together all that could interest and instruct those in search of knowledge or pursuing the studies of science. The town has not yet recovered its sober reason since Francis told us, at the Historical Society, all the musty legends and antiquarian stories of the last fifty years of its imposing career. The city and the country were alike ransacked for scrap prints and autograph letters to illustrate the pages of that marvellous work. The illustrating disease had, in fact, become an epidemic, which has scarcely yet abated of its virulence. Pictures of the men, and engravings of the places, mentioned by the good Doctor, have been sold at fabulous prices, and the demand remains unchecked.

But, while we thus not irreverently applaud the labor of our city's historiographer, we must not

in our lighter phrases undervalue the beneficent generosity of his nature or the expansive benevolence which marked his character through life.

There were numerous episodes in the agreeable duty of welcoming Mr. Dickens. The ceremonies of reception were conducted at the Park Theatre, under the benign auspices of that most estimable of managers, Edmund Simpson. Peace to his manes and a kind word to his memory.

Following the reception came the elaborate dinner at the City Hotel; and then ensued numerous private entertainments at the houses of prominent citizens. One of these latter, given at a mansion on University-place, chiefly lives in my memory from the excitement produced by a superb address from James T. Brady, in which he brought vividly before the company several of the most prominent characters portrayed by Mr. Dickens. We all know that Mr. Brady never fails to arrest the attention of his auditors, but it may be doubted whether even he has ever excelled the wondrous effect of that brilliant effort.

But this tedious detail would still be incomplete without an illusion to something quite remarkable in its way. As soon as it became known that Mr. Dickens would visit us, a club was organized by the gentlemen who shone in that day as the representatives of the Press—in other words, the reporters. With these were mingled several well-known men about town, a sprinkling of popular actors, and a few others with no special claim to such a distinction. The club numbered nearly or quite fifty members, and it bore the rather incongruous name of "*The Novelties*." Why, whence, or wherefore that became its designation, I never knew or succeeded in finding any person who did know. The ostensible object of the organization was to render due honor to Mr. Dickens; and this was accomplished by giving him a pleasant entertainment in Park-row. I recall vividly the wonders of that society. After the first formation (and it was always amazing to me by what unmerited stoop of good fortune I was permitted to join its ranks) the principal duty of each successive meeting was to blackball every candidate presented for admission. Scores were rejected ignominiously every night, comprising among their number many who would have conferred credit on the concern. The prevalent idea in the minds of the larger portion of the members seemed to be that the existing organization, though without special limitation as to numbers, was complete in itself, and contained all who could by any possibility be considered worthy of such an exalted association. These rigid notions became somewhat ameliorated after the departure of Mr. Dickens, and the club survived that event for a considerable time. When it expired or whether it lives to this day I am sadly ignorant, and would gladly repair the fault.

And thus ends my story of the reception. If you can, amidst all your more serious avocations, find time to wade through this interminable recital, you certainly must be a man capable of bearing very trying inflictions. And with affectionate solicitude, therefore, in your behalf, I remain,

P. M. W.

XII.—NARRATIVE OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEE IN BOSTON, IN 1687.

[The following interesting paper was published, during last November, in *The Liberal Christian*, the widely known organ of the Unitarians in New York.

From the fact that the Rev. Doctor Bellows, one of the editors of *The Liberal Christian*, was then on the Continent of Europe, it is not improbable that the paper reached the United States through that gentleman; but of that we cannot speak with certainty since no other editorial notice accompanied it than the following:

"The following narrative is to be found in the collection of documents in the library of Geneva, and was first published last February, by the French Protestant Historical Society, in their department of hitherto unpublished papers relating to the Reformation. The name of the author is unknown. A phrase or two seem to indicate that he was a native of Languedoc. Having set out for America two years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when already numbers of emigrants were turning in the same direction, he was commissioned to collect on the spot such advices as might serve to guide his comrades in the faith, and facilitate their establishment in the land of exile. His narrative, divided into three parts, one of which is unfortunately lost, is nevertheless of the liveliest interest. It consists of the simple, honest impressions of an intelligent observer, who notes everything in his passage, omitting no useful hint, the route to be taken, the price of land, the relative value of money, soil, climate, the various productions, institutions already established, complete statistics, both material and moral, of a dawning community."

By the grace of God, I have been in these blessed regions, in perfect health, since the seventeenth of the last month, after a passage of fifty-three days, reckoning from the Downs, which are twenty leagues from London, to Boston, and I may say there are few vessels which make the passage in so short a time. Our voyaging was most fortunate, and I can say that, excepting three days and three nights when we had a great storm, the entire remainder was only agreeable and delicious weather; for one and each brought joy to our bark. Wives, daughters, and children came almost every day to enjoy themselves on the poop-deck. We had not the pleasure of fishing on the Banks, because we did not come upon them; we passed them fifty leagues to the South; our course was almost always from East to West. We passed in the latitude of the Fejalles, distant about sixty leagues; these are islands belonging to the Portuguese, and are four hundred leagues from England. If there were no fear of the corsairs of Sales (*sic*), who often cruise about these islands, vessels would often come to anchor in these harbors; but these pirates are the cause of vessels holding a course at a distance from the North shore. We met a number of ships at sea, some coming from the Banks fishing, others from

the islands of America; among others we met a ship belonging in La Rochelle, which was coming from Martinique, laden with sugar, and which had previously made a voyage to Guinea, whence it had brought one hundred and fifty negroes, and two Capuchin fathers who had been obliged to abandon their post in Guinea, in view of the little progress they there made. Almost the entire crew and the Captain are Protestant. They came to our vessel in their launch, and promised us they would soon come to see us in Boston, in order to make reparation for having unluckily succumbed [at their post.] They told us, moreover, that almost all the Protestant inhabitants of the French islands have gone; we have several here in Boston, with their whole families. By a ship arrived from the islands we have news that the greater part of our poor brethren who had been conveyed to St. Martin island, have found refuge in St. Eustace island, which belongs to the Dutch, and there is hope that the rest will soon be there. You will have learned, no doubt, that one of the three ships that transported these poor brethren, was lost, and from her only the crew were saved. May God pardon these cruel men, who are the cause of these sorrows, and convert them!

By another ship arrived from New York, we have letters notifying us that the Governor [*of Quebec*] had written a highly indignant letter to the Governor of New York, the grievance being that he had supplied munitions to the Iroquois who are at war with the French, saying that, if he maintained his assistance of them, he should come and see them this winter. The Governor of New York made him such reply as he deserved; and at the same time ordered a levy of three to four thousand men, all English (not being willing to draw off the French from their new settlements where they have need of great assiduity in their work), to go into camp this winter on the frontier and observe the movements of the French. The Governor of Virginia has orders to hold himself ready with as many men as he could raise, to come to his assistance, in case there should be need. I believe the same orders are here; Boston alone can furnish fifteen thousand fighting men, and if what is told me is reliable, she can furnish twenty thousand. If any other news transpires, I shall not fail to communicate it. I reply now concerning the matters with which you were pleased to charge me on my departure, at least, those about which I have already received information.

Firstly, to come into this country, you should embark at London, whence a ship sails every alternate month. The fittest season to embark is the end of March; or, the end of August and the beginning of September are the true seasons, more especially because it is neither too warm nor too cold, and you are then no longer in the season of

calms, which are frequent in summer, and which cause vessels to spend four months passing thence. Beyond the fact that the heats often occasion sickness on board, there are no fatigues to undergo, when one has by him good stores of refreshments, and of all kinds. It is well, too, to have a surgeon on the ship on which you take passage, as we had on ours. In regard to the dangers, care must be taken to embark on a good vessel, equipped with an ample crew and with cannon, and well provided with victual, above all, that bread and water are not lacking. As for the route, I have said sufficient above; there is no danger except in nearing the land, and on the banks of sand found on the way. We took soundings in two places, off Cape Sable, which is on the coast of Port-Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety fathom. At that time we were only twenty leagues from land; we stood off, and came upon St. George's Bank, which is eighty leagues from Boston, and there found one hundred fathom. From that point, we took no more soundings, for three days after we sighted Cape Cod, which is twenty leagues from Boston, on the southern shore; and the morrow, we arrived at Boston, after having fallen in with a number of very pretty islands that lie in front of Boston, most of them cultivated and inhabited, which form a very fine view. Boston is situated at the head of a bay, possibly three or four leagues in circumference, shut in by the islands of which I have told you. Whatever may be the weather, vessels lie there in safety. The town is built on the slope of a little hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The town and the land outside are not more than three miles in circuit, for it is almost an island; it would only be necessary to cut through a width of three hundred paces, all sand, which, in less than twice twenty-four hours would make Boston an island washed on all sides by the sea. The town is almost wholly built of wooden houses: but since there have been some ravages by fire, building of wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome houses of brick are going up. I ought to have told you, at the beginning of this article, that you pay in London for passage here twenty crowns, (2s. 6d.) and twenty-four if you prefer to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here than at London; you have one crown over, since one hundred pounds at London, are equal to one hundred and twenty-five here, so that the twenty crowns one must pay at London are twenty-five here, by reason of the twenty-five per cent., and twenty-four is all one has to pay here; this increase in the value of money is a great help to the poor refugees, considering the little they bring.

2d. There is here no religion other than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, the Anabaptist, and

our own. We have not any Papists, at least that are known to us.

3d. I will reply to the third Article touching the R. when I shall be better informed.

4th. Boston is situated in forty-two and a half degrees, North Latitude. At this writing, it is daylight at six o'clock in the morning, and night at six o'clock; I mean the break of day, there being nearly an hour of twilight till the rising of the sun.

5th. I make no reply to your fifth Article, not having as yet been through the country. In two days I am to set out for Noraganzet. On my return, with God's help, I will tell you of the goodness and fertility of the soil and what grows thereon.

6th. In regard to acquiring land, that which is taken up in the Noraganzet country costs twenty pounds, sterling, per hundred acres, cash down, and twenty-five on terms in three years; but payment is not made because it is not known whether that country will remain in the hands of the proprietors, wrongly thus called, or belong to the King. Until this matter may be decided, no payment will be made; in all cases one cannot be obliged to pay more than the price above mentioned, and in accordance with the terms of contract approved before the town-mayors. We are even assured that if the King holds the land, the price will be nothing, or at least very little, the Crown contenting itself with a small reservation, provided that what one can sell and let will be one's own property. The Nicmok country is the private property of the President, and land there costs nothing. I do not yet know the quantity they give to each family; some persons have told me, from fifty to one hundred [acres], according to families.

7th and 8th. To be answered.

9th. It rests with those who wish to take up land to take it in one of the two countries on the seashore, or in the interior. The Nicmok country is in the interior, and twenty leagues from Boston, and an equal distance from the sea, so that, when they wish to send or receive anything from Boston, it must be carted. There are little rivers and ponds around this settlement, fruitful in fish, and woods full of game. M. Bondet is their Minister. The inhabitants are as yet only fifty-two persons. The Noraganzet country is four miles from the sea, and consequently it has more commerce with the sea islands, as Boston * * * [*Two words illegible*], and the Island of Rodislau, which is only ten miles away. This island, they tell me, is well-settled, and with a great trade, which I know of by my own knowledge. There are at Noraganzet about one hundred persons [of the faith]; M. Carre is their minister.

10th. You can bring with you hired help in any vocation whatever; there is an absolute need

of them to till the land. You may also own negroes and negresses ; there is not a house in Boston, however small may be its means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good living. You employ savages to work your fields, in consideration of one shilling and a half a day and board, which is eighteen pence ; it being always understood that you must provide them with beasts or utensils for labor. It is better to have hired men to till your land. Negroes cost from twenty to forty pistoles [*the pistole was then worth about ten francs*], provided they are skilful or robust ; there is no danger that they will leave you, nor hired help likewise, for the moment one is missing from the town, you have only to notify the savages, who, provided you promise them something, and describe the man to them, he is right soon found. But that happens rarely, their quitting you, for they would know not where to go, having few trodden roads, and those which are trodden lead to English towns or villages, which, on your writing will immediately send back your men. There are ship captains who might take them off ; but that is open thievery and would be rigorously punished. Houses of brick and frame can be built cheaply, so far as there being materials, for the labor of workmen is very dear ; a man cannot be got to work for less than twenty-four pence a day and found.

11th, 12th, 13th. To be answered.

14th. Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every kind of cattle, which sell very well. An ox costs from twelve to fifteen crowns ; a cow, eight or ten ; horses, from ten to fifty crowns, and in plenty. There are even wild ones in the woods, which are yours, if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two pence the pound ; mutton, two pence ; pork, from two to three pence, according to the season ; flour, fourteen shillings by the one hundred and twelye pound, all bolted ; fish is very cheap ; and vegetables also ; cabbage, turnips, onions, and carrots abound here. Moreover, there are quantities of nuts, chestnuts, and hazel-nuts, wild. These nuts are small, but of wonderful flavor. I have been told that there are other sorts which we shall see in season. I am assured that the woods are full of strawberries in the season. I have seen quantities of wild grape-vines, and eaten raisins of very good flavor, cured by one of my friends. There is no doubt that the vine does very well ; there is some little planted in the country, which has put forth. There is difficulty in getting the European vine. If some little could be had, much more would be planted. Those who mean to come over thence, should strive to bring with them of the best.

15th, 16th, 17th, 18th. To be answered.

19th. The rivers are very full of fish, and we

have so great a quantity of sea and river fish that no account is made of them. There are here craftsmen of every kind, and above all carpenters for the building of ships. The day after my arrival, I saw them put into the water, one of three hundred tons, and since, they have launched two others somewhat smaller. This town here carries on a great trade with the islands of America and with Spain. They carry to the islands flour, salt beef, salt pork, cod, casks, salt salmon, salt mackerel, onions, and oysters salted in barrels, great quantities of which are taken here ; and for their return they bring sugar, cotton cloth, molasses, indigo, sago (*sic*) and pieces of * * *. In the trade with Spain, they carry only dried fish, which is to be had here at eight to twelve shillings the quintal, according to quality ; the return cargo is in oils, wine, and brandy, and other merchandise which comes by way of London, for nothing can be imported here, coming from a foreign port, unless it has first been to London and paid the duty, after which it can be transported here, where for all duty one-half per cent. is paid for importation, since merchandise for exportation pays nothing at all.

20th. To be answered.

21st. You must disabuse yourself of the impression that advantages are here offered to refugees. In truth, in the beginning, some subsistence was furnished them, but at present there is a need of some for those who shall bring nothing. At Niemok, as I have before said, land is given for nothing, and at Noraganzet it must be bought at twenty to twenty-five pounds sterling the hundred acres, so that whoever brings nothing here, finds nothing. It is very true that living is exceedingly cheap, and that with a little, one can make a good settlement. A family of three or four persons can make with fifty pistoles a fine settlement ; but it needs not less than that. Those who bring much, do well in proportion.

22d and 23d. To be answered.

24th. One can come to this country, and return the same as in Europe. There is the greatest liberty, and you may live without any constraint. Those who desire to come to this country, should get themselves naturalized (*fridanniser*) in London, in order to be free to carry on business in any sort of merchandise, and to trade with the English islands, without which they cannot do so.

25th, 26th, 27th. To be answered.

The articles to which I fail to reply are those of which I cannot give any account, because it is necessary to inform myself exactly, and to see for myself. I have told you above that the money of London gives a profit of twenty-five per cent. Although this advantage is noted, it is nevertheless better to bring merchandise upon which there is a gain of one hundred per cent. including the twenty-five exchange ; for merchandise is bought

here only by barter, and if you give money, it is in no respect to your advantage. On another occasion, I will give the prices of merchandise, and the kinds proper for this country here, a thing I cannot do as yet, having only just arrived. If I had arrived a month or two earlier, I should have been able to see the crops of this country. I have been here long enough to have seen a prodigious quantity of apples, from which they make a marvellously good cider. One hundred and twenty quarts cost only about eight shillings, and at the inn it is sold two pence the quart, two pence the quart, beer measure. There is an inferior quality which costs only five or six shillings, one hundred and twenty quarts. I am to take rooms with one of my friends, and have our meals in common, for the winter, which, they all tell me, is here very rough and long, and the summer extremely warm, a thing I shall make trial of, if God grants me the favor of passing it, and giving an exact account of all things.

At Boston, the 15—25 of November, 1687,

III.

Since my arrival only two vessels have left by which I did myself the honor to write to you. My first letter was dated the 15—25 November, 1687, in which I did reply to several Articles of your memorandum, and in this I will try to reply to some others. My second letter was of the 1st December, in which you will have had the exact narrative of my voyage made to Noraganzet, and the number of families who are there established.

I have replied to the second Article of your memorandum touching the religions; but I did forget to tell you that there is here a temple of Anabaptists, for as to the other sects of which I spoke in my narrative from Noragunzet, it is only for that country and not for Boston, for we have here no religion other than the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, and our own. As for Papists, I have discovered since being here, eight or ten, three of whom are French and come to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the surgeon, who has a family, the others are here only in passage.

3d. Of this third Article I have as yet no good knowledge, although I have exact information of those persons who are in some sort distinguished from the others, and who I have thought ought to enlighten me. However, they know nothing, perhaps are designedly ignorant; at all events, there is no doubt that all is subject to the orders of H. B. M.. and that we refugees are here in entire security. We have here no Court, except a Presidial one, which gives judgment in civil and criminal matters, composed of a President and twelve Councillors who have the same laws and customs they had heretofore. The only additional point is, that the Governor is present in Council

whenever he pleases; and it is he who holds the casting vote. Within a short time they have increased the duties on wine; such as ordinarily paid only ten shillings the pipe, pays thirty at present; and the tavern keepers who paid only fifty shillings a pipe for the wine they sold, pay at present one hundred and one hundred and twenty a gallon for brandy, thirty pence a barrel for cider, and thirty pence a barrel for beer. As for other merchandise, it pays as usual half per cent. Besides this Presidial [*Court*], there are eight Justices of the Peace who are for civil cases that come up in the town. Not that they can wholly settle any case; if the parties like litigation they appeal to the Presidial, or to the Council of twenty-four which is assembled only in matters of the highest importance,

5th. I can reply to this Article only in part, not having yet seen fruit on the trees; but I know very well that for fig, orange, lime, olive, pomegranate, almond and mulberry trees, there are not any, the country being too cold. Nevertheless, I can assure you that I have passed winters in Languedoc more severe than this one. We have had but very little ice, and snow twice, a foot deep each time. It is also true that some English people have told me that it has been fifty years since they have seen a winter so mild; but what I admire in this country is, that it never rains more than three days of the month. Ever since I have arrived, I have remarked it; after which you have clear days, a fine, fresh air, which causes one to see very little sickness, and many people of good appetite. The land here is of varying quality, as I have already told you. There is some sandy (soil); all the rest produces very well. They gather here quantities of Indian corn, which is worth at present only sixteen pence the bushel; they gather also wheat, corn and rye, but not in great quantity, and all these do very well; vegetables also; as for the vine, it will do very well; it has only to be planted. There is a barge arrived from Fayal which has brought some plants. The French strive as far as they can to have it brought, some the black, others the yellowish, others the red, the sandy (colored) excepted.

7th. The ground is tilled with the plough, and after the ground is well prepared, a hole is made in the ground with a stake, and four or five grains of Indian corn are put in. The holes are equally distant from each other. When the corn is high, the ground at the foot is hilled as much as possible, in order that the wind may not cut it (down), when it comes to be laden with ears. Other grain is sown as in Europe.

8th. Land here is charged with no tax, up to the present time. I told you of the manner it can be obtained, at Noraganzet. There are here divers French families who have purchased Eng-

lish residences all built, and which they have got exceedingly cheap. M. de Bourepos, brother to our minister, has bought one fifteen miles from here, and at one league from a very pretty town, and where there is a great trade, which they call Salem, for sixty-eight pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds [*the pound (livre) replaced by the franc was about twenty cent*] French. The house is very pretty, and it never was builded for fifty pistoles. There are seventeen acres of land all cleared, and a little orchard. M. Legau, a French merchant goldsmith, has bought one twelve miles from here toward the South, on the seashore, where he has a very pretty house and ten acres and a half of land for eighty pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds of France. He has also his share in the Commons, where he can send his cattle to pasture, and cut wood for his needs, and for selling here, it being conveniently sent by sea. Similar chances offer every day; and farms to be let on shares as many as you will, and at a moderate price. M. Mousset, one of our French people, finding himself burdened with a family, is renting one on shares which they gave him for eight pistoles a year; there is a good house, and twenty acres of cleared land. He can make six or seven barrels of cider, and the owner gives him the profit of two cows. If our poor refugee brethren who understand tilling land, should come thence, they could not fail of living very comfortably and getting rich, for the English are very inefficient, and understand only their Indian corn and cattle.

XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness, and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.]

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*]

WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF TALLEYRAND.—It is known to all that TALLEYRAND sojourned for a time in the United States, and during that period was honored by the acquaintance and friendship of many among the most eminent of our public men. In illustration of this fact a correspondent has obligingly furnished us with a copy of a note, addressed by President WASHINGTON to the Marquis of LANSDOWNE, who, it appears, had given to TALLEYRAND a letter of introduction to the latter. *National Intelligencer.*

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 30, 1795.

MY LORD: I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing to me M. TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

It is matter of no small regret to me that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest

towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character and of your Lordship's recommendation. But I am informed that the reception he has met with in general has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time must naturally be favorable to him everywhere, and may be expected to raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages which, in revolutions, result from differences of political opinions.

It would be painful to me to anticipate that the misfortunes of Europe could be the cause of an event which, on every personal account, would give me the truest satisfaction—the opportunity of welcoming you to a country to the esteem of which you have so just a title, and of testifying to you more particularly the sentiments of respect and cordial regard with which I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
GO WASHINGTON.

The Right Hon. Lord LANSDOWNE.

REPUBLICAN LETTERS FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—The *Journal of Commerce* published, some years since, the following letters, received from its Washington correspondent, to whom they were originally written:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3, 1823.

R. WALSH, Esq., Philadelphia:

MY DEAR SIR—Of the Cunningham correspondence, what can I with propriety say? That I was privy to no part of it?—this is true. That my father's letters are full of the tenderest affection and parental partiality for me? Be it so. These expressions of his regard and sympathy were as much unknown to me as to the public, till after the death of W. CUNNINGHAM, last May. I had known WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM in my youth; but since I went to Europe, in 1794, I had never to my recollection seen him but once, and that was at my father's house, in 1804. I had no correspondence with him; and, although I have an indistinct recollection of having heard that in the winter of 1808–9, he was endeavoring, ineffectually, to obtain the publication in the Boston *Palladium*, a Federal newspaper, of some essays in commendation of me, I neither desired nor thanked him for these favors, nor did I know the motive by which they were inspired at the time.

The correspondence, as published, is garbled. I sailed for Russia in 1809, on the fifth of August. There is a letter from CUNNINGHAM, written about a fortnight before that time, in which, noticing my approaching departure, he hints a wish to go with me. Neither his letter nor his wish was communicated to me; and that passage in his letter is omitted from the publication.

There is omitted, also, a passage in my father's last letter to him, which discloses the cause of CUNNINGHAM's treachery. It was because my father declined to recommend him to MR. MADISON, for an appointment to office. The patriotism of the son flinched from the publication of these two passages.

As to the publication itself, it is a very simple case of confidence betrayed; and as I attribute much of WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM's baseness to partial insanity, I have no doubt that his son's had the same source, with the consent of Romeo's apothecary. The public sentiment appears to have done full justice to the *dishonesty* of the publication, but of what is public, electioneering partisans will make what use they can, without inquiring through what channels it became so.

I am very much disposed to rely upon the sound sense and honest feeling of my countrymen. If their minds are susceptible of being prepossessed against me by the writings or acts of others to which I was not even knowing, how can I expect they would listen with favor to any thing that I or my friends could say in my defence? The plea of not guilty is itself an absurdity when the charge against you is not for what you have done yourself, but for what others, without your knowledge, have said of you. I cannot believe it will have any permanent effect, but if it has, so much the worse perhaps for me—and it may be none the worse for the country—I am bound, at least, to hope so; and will do my best to perform my duties.

If there was anything in the correspondence which could bear with justice unfavorably upon my character, I should deem it no defence to say it was divulged by treachery. As respects me it is immaterial how the facts became public. It is not *my* confidence that has been betrayed. I say there is nothing in the book for which I can justly be called to answer before *any* tribunal—even that of Heaven. When charges *have* been brought against me, by responsible names, I have not stood mute—I see now no cause to answer.

With my best thanks and acknowledgments for your friendly disposition and notices, I remain, dear sir, you very humble and obedient servant.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I trust you will not take, as I am told some legislative statesmen have done, the proposition mentioned in the messages, for abolishing *private War upon the Seas*, to be a mere offer to abolish *privateering*. You will understand it as it is meant—a project for the universal exemption of private property upon the Ocean from depredation by a War.

I hope to be gratified with your editorial remarks, upon the notification to the European powers, that the American Continents are not to

be considered, hereafter, as subjects for Colonization.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1827.

ROBERT WALSH, JR. Esq., Philadelphia:

MY DEAR SIR—I am mortified at finding myself obliged to send you an apology instead of a fulfilment of my promise. Every moment of my leisure, for more than a month, has been occupied upon the subject, and I have written an article containing as much manuscript as I had led you to expect. But you well know how all fruitful subjects swell under one's hands; and where I expected to finish, I have not got half through. The article embraces a review of the policy and proceedings, both of Great Britain and the United States, relating to the Colonial trade, from the Preliminary Articles of Peace, in November, 1782, down to the present day. It is, of course, mere drudgery, but I have now brought it down to the Peace of Ghent.

That period forms an epoch in the history, and it is only in the sequel from that to the present time that the great majority of your readers will take any interest. But this is a matter about which the squabbling between mother and daughter has only begun, and we shall not soon see the last of it. I believe it will therefore be useful to travel back, *a primordia rerum*, and show the people of our country how it was in the beginning, is now, and I fear ever will be, in the purposes of our mother, as to the matter of Colonial trade,

I had already some misgiving that I should be cut short for time, when I requested you to be provided with an article for your *next number*, in the event of disappointment from me: I did hope, however, that I should be able to get through before the twentieth. I am now satisfied that it will be impossible, and must therefore ask your indulgence to reserve the article for the number after next. If my health should hold out, you may be sure of receiving the article by the first of August, when I hope it may not be so unworthy of public inspection as it would be now. It will probably not be much longer for the delay; which I shall employ to retrench and abridge as much as to enlarge.

Yours truly,
J. Q. A.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8, 1827.

ROBT. WALSH, Esq., Philadelphia

DEAR SIR.—I must abandon the hope of being able to furnish you a continuation of the article upon the Colonial trade question, in time for the next number of the *Review*. The truth is, the question itself has changed its aspect. If the shuffling casuistry of MR. CANNING had not been sufficiently exposed while he lived, it would be utterly useless to chastise it now that his gibes and his jeers are consigned to the silence of the tomb. It is

now, perhaps, a misfortune for us that he died as he did, for, in the last month of his life, while his difficulties at home were thickening upon him, his tone and his policy had undergone a change and his mind was running again upon the naturalities of affection between the mother and daughter.

He continued, however, inflexible upon the Colonial trade question, and so do his successors. They are controlled by the shipping interests, which will prevail until the interest of the planters shall raise a counter clamor, or till some more absorbing interest shall agitate the public mind and leave them at liberty to act upon this subject more for their own real benefit and for ours, than they can at present. The second part of the article in your *Review*, if ever written, must treat the subject differently from what it should have done, if it had appeared with the first; or indeed at any time before the death of Mr. CANNING. It would answer no purpose now to put him in the wrong. No purpose here, because it has been done already by others. No purpose in Europe, because trammelled as the new Ministry are and more likely within a year to shiver into atoms than to hold together, they could not if they would trace back their steps again upon this point at present.

The sequel of your article would therefore be, perhaps, more seasonable the next summer than now. The consequences of Mr. HUSKISSON's backward march are not yet fully developed. They are, however, and will be gradually disclosing themselves. The Governor of St. Kitts has already been forced to open, for three months, the ports of his islands, by a hurricane. Our trade with the West Indies has been very little diminished by the interdiction; our revenue not at all. Next summer, we shall be able to argue the question more *avec connaissance de cause*, and perhaps may have to address more listening ears. I give you, it may be, insufficient reasons for the postponement, which you may, if you think fit, hint at in a note to your next number—but the reason above all others is, that I cannot prepare the article for you in season.

Yours, with great regard and esteem.

J. Q. ADAMS.

"OLD TIME CHURCHES" IN MARYLAND.*

Let our "old time churches," especially within the bounds of our first American Conferences, be cherished with precious and grateful recollections. Relics of former ages are almost universally regarded with peculiar sanctity and interest. With what veneration and respect should the present class of Methodists contemplate those primitive churches, erected through the agency of Straw-

bridge, Watters, and others, a few of which are still standing as the uniting link between the past and present? Maryland and Virginia have their proportion of these ancient, antique edifices; and it should be the purpose of our ministers and people to maintain the sacredness associated with them, during the future of Methodism. Where "time and chance" have so defaced these peculiar landmarks as to compel reconstruction and improvement, their primitive identity of names and location should never pass from the memory of the people.

Among the oldest Methodist churches in the Baltimore Conference is "St. James's," within the "old Montgomery Circuit," erected about the year 1785, but now one of the principal appointments in Patapsco Circuit, and for the second time in its eventful history undergoing the most thorough repairs. "Montgomery Circuit" first appears on the *General Minutes* in 1788, with the names of Robert Green and John Allen as Circuit Preachers, and Nelson Reed, Presiding Elder. From the rapid growth of Methodism at that early day, *necessity* compelled the constant formation of new fields, these often increasing with greater rapidity than men of the right character were raised up of God to supply and cultivate them. From the "old Montgomery Circuit" have sprung an immense progeny, the natural outgrowth of that aggressive spirit which still distinguishes the same Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1790, this ancient field reported a membership of six hundred and forty-eight whites and one hundred and three colored, showing most conclusive evidence of unexampled prosperity. At this early period, "St. James's" Church had become one of our places of power and strength; and for more than eighty years, it has been able to maintain with apostolic zeal and faith, its original prestige. This church building is thirty by forty feet, and was constructed of hewn chestnut logs, painted with lime cement, with a gallery extending nearly half way through the house, and seated with a rough, uncouth class of benches, peculiarly adapted to the physical and mental qualities of their rustic occupants. For nearly thirty-six years, "St. James's" stood in its primitive roughness, its pulpit occupied annually by the most illustrious fathers in the ministry, when God moved the hearts and hands of the people to cover its naked exterior, and add such temporary improvements as comported with the more refined ideas of a subsequent generation. Up to 1820, when the first repairs were made on this church, its pulpit had been regularly filled with seventy-one different preachers of the Baltimore Conference, three of whom, Roberts, George, and Waugh, were subsequently elected Bishops. Beside these stand the names of Garretson, Jesse and Wilson Lee, Draper, Griffith, Ryland, Jeffer-

* From the *Christian Advocate*.

son, and others, whose self-denying labors in behalf of the Church deserve a conspicuous niche in our ecclesiastical temple. From 1820 to 1867, a period of forty-seven years, Time had made his impress on this ancient structure; and its moss-covered roof and dilapidated exterior plead most eloquently for the hand of reconstruction; and, we rejoice to say, God put it into the hearts of its numerous friends to arise and rebuild. During a period of eighty years, more than one hundred and sixty different preachers had regularly filled its pulpit, no doubt preaching over one hundred and fifty thousand sermons; while the number of souls converted through their agency will only be manifest in the numbering of God's elect people. The last discourse preached within its antiquated walls was by the writer; when the embarrassments under which Nehemiah reared the broken walls of Jerusalem, and the cheerfulness with which his co-laborers assisted in the work, were presented to the people as sufficient motives to inspire them with a determination to arise and adorn this house of God with more than its primordial glory. Since October last, the work of *reconstruction* has been gradually progressing, and with no adverse providence the early spring will bring to us the season of dedication. "Old St. James's" will enter upon its rejuvenated existence with a large and united membership, and with an active and evangelical ministry, in connection with increasing facilities for mental and moral improvement; and "the glory of this latter "house" shall by far exceed that of former years.

W. H. OSBORNE.

GENERAL FITZ-JOHN PORTER'S CASE.

Letter from General Franklin to General Grant.

HARTFORD, CONN., September 21, 1867.

MY DEAR GRANT,

Fitz-John Porter writes me to ask that I will do something to aid him in getting a rehearing of his case. All that I can do is to write you and give you the reasons why I think it will be an act of justice to give him the opportunity to clear himself from the terrible imputation now resting upon him.

I saw Porter in Pope's company the day after the latter's defeat at Bull Run, and afterwards, until we arrived in front of Washington. I know that they were on very cordial terms; and that Pope on some occasions advised with him confidentially. I talked a good deal myself with Pope; and I think if he had had at that time any feeling that Porter had acted badly I would have learned it then, but I had no suspicion that he felt aggrieved by anything that Porter or any one who was then near him had done. At Fairfax Court House, the day that we

arrived at Washington, I noticed that Pope was particularly in good spirits and cordial with Porter. I have, therefore, always thought that the attack upon Porter was the result of an afterthought; and that the charges were not original with Pope.

During the trial, I thought it proper to inform Porter that Generals J. F. Reynolds, George H. Thomas, and myself, would, if requested, go before the Court and swear that we would not believe Pope or Roberts under oath. I had consulted General Reynolds before I made the proposition. He consented to go himself; and thought General Thomas would have no hesitation in giving such evidence. I was myself well convinced of General Thomas's opinion of Pope's veracity, from what I had often heard him say, before the war. Porter declined to call us up to give this evidence, on the ground that the Court appeared so well disposed towards him, and his case was going on so well, that he did not wish to irritate the Court by an attempt to break down the evidence of the principal prosecutors. The sequence showed that he made a serious mistake.

But I think that the most equitable reason for a review of Porter's case is this: The Judge-advocate-general, Holt, was the Judge-advocate of the Court. That was right enough. But no one will deny that a Judge-advocate of a Military Court, when a prisoner in defended by able counsel, becomes to a great extent a prosecutor, and as such necessarily biased against the prisoner. To say that General Holt was prejudiced against Porter, is merely to say that he is like other men; and that he was so prejudiced the whole proceeding shows. Whether it is better or worse for the course of justice that the Judge-advocate should be prejudiced has nothing to do with the question.

But an abstract of the proceedings, and finding, and sentence of the Court had to be made by the Judge-advocate-general for presentation to the President of the United States, upon which (for he necessarily could not read the evidence) he was to make up his mind as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. Was it right, proper, or decent, that this abstract should be made up by the very man who had done his best to convict the prisoner? Did not such a proceeding prevent the President from learning any extenuating circumstances, or finding out anything weak in the evidence, if any such there were? Did it not, in fact, take away any chance from Porter which he might have had, had a cool, unbiased person of knowledge made this abstract instead of General Holt?

The whole business seems to me like a prosecuting Attorney passing sentence upon a prisoner in a civil Court, immediately after the speeches of Counsel. I think the fact that Mr. Lincoln had only General Holt's abstract to guide him in mak-

ing up an opinion on the proceedings of that Court is enough to invalidate the whole thing.

It has been said, and perhaps with truth, that there is no precedent to guide in this matter. It may be said with equal truth, that never since the trial of Admiral Byng was injustice so without precedent done. I think that there never was a more appropriate opportunity for going beyond precedent, and establishing the fact that no matter how or by whom flagrant injustice is done, you, when the power is in your hands, will see the right done.

For my part, I know that Porter was as loyal as the most loyal soldier now dead; and that no thought of treason or disaffection entered his brain. He was a victim to Pope's failure in Virginia, and it seems to me he has been a victim long enough. You will, in my opinion, do an act which will not be the least among those which will make up your fame, if you will lend your weight towards giving Porter the opportunity to retrieve his character as a citizen and soldier.

I am truly your friend,
W. B. FRANKLIN.

General U. S. GRANT, Commanding Army of the
United States.

THE BOARDMAN FAMILY.—In a retired part of Skowhegan, Maine, previously forming the town of Bloomfield, and bordering upon the Fairfield line, is situated the old homestead of the Boardman family. It is located upon the South-eastern declivity of Bigelow Hill, and commands a fine view of an extensive portion of the country. The farm is now owned by Mr. Abraham Adams, and to him the Boardman family are indebted for many kind attentions during their recent visit to its old home.

This gathering of the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the late Samuel L. Boardman, took place on Saturday, the thirty-first of August; and although the notice of the meeting was not as extended as could have been desired, a large company gathered at the old homestead and spent the day in festivities appropriate to the occasion. The familiar spots were all visited, recalling recollections alike pleasant and sad. The company present divided into little groups; and while some proceeded to the favorite trees in the orchard, others visited the spring where in childhood they went to get water, or by the side of some large rock that served as a childish playhouse. Young ladies gathered moss upon rocks where their mothers played when children, to preserve as a memento of the visit. Mr. Adams kindly threw open his house for the reception of the visitors; and room after room was entered, in each of which a thousand recollections rushed upon the mind. After the party had visited all

points of interest upon the farm, they sat down to a sumptuous collation served in an adjoining grove, to which Mr. Adams and his family were invited. Among the grand-children present was one, Mrs. Mattie J. Bixby, who arrived with her little boy, six years of age, from Pike's Peak, just in time to be present on the interesting occasion. She came across the Plains, was unaccompanied by any acquaintance or friend save her little boy, and brought her revolver upon her person, to the depot at Skowhegan.

William Boardman came from Martha's Vineyard, and settled in New Market, N. H. He married Sarah, a daughter of Deacon Samuel Lane, of Stratham, N. H.; and was for many years, a Selectman and Collector of the town. His children were, Samuel L., Stephen, William, Martha, Mary, and Betsey. Samuel L. married Mehitable, daughter of General James Hill, of New Market, N. A. General Hill was a prominent citizen of that State; and during the Revolutionary war, raised and equipped at his own expense a Battalion of men, and marched with them to Saratoga, to aid in the engagement with Burgoyne; but did not reach there until after the surrender of that officer. Stephen married a Blightenburg, of Durham, N. H. William became a lawyer of considerable eminence, but died, unmarried, at a comparatively early age. Martha married Seth Shackford, of New Market, N. H. Mary married Daniel Thompson, of Sanbornton, N. H. Betsey died young.

Samuel L. Boardman came into Maine, in 1816, and settled in Bloomfield. He was for many years, keeper of the Skowhegan Bridge, was a man of estimable social qualities, beloved for his good nature, and honored for his integrity. He died suddenly, on the twentieth of March, 1857, aged seventy-five years. His widow is now living at the age of eighty-two. Their family are thirteen children, eight of whom are now living. The other descendants of the family are thirty grandchildren and seventeen great-grand-children. These descendants are now widely scattered over Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, many have gone West, and one is residing with his family in Australia.

It is the intention of the family to compile a genealogy of the descendants of William Boardman, also tracing his ancestry as far back as possible; and any one who can furnish information towards making it complete, will receive the thanks of the family. Such letters may be sent to Mr. SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Augusta, Me.

A GLANCE AT THE CAPTURE OF FORT PUASKI. The following letter, from Major-general Benham, of the Engineers, was doubtless not intended for publication (says *The New York in*

Citizen), but as we know many reasons why it should be published, and none why it should not, we have concluded to give it, even at the risk of causing some slight momentary shock to our old friend's ideas of military etiquette:

BOSTON, MASS., August 11, 1867.

MY DEAR GENERAL.—(though "Miles" sounds more familiar): You, perhaps, may have known that after Gillmore had published his Pulaski reports, I could not but say to General Hunter, that he and I "would have to get certificates that we "were there," as I repeated in fact to Gillmore himself, who had already heard it. This seems to be the case now. A man who is getting up a record of officers—a personal enemy of mine, by the by,—refuses to receive or recognize any testimony that I was anywhere near at the capture of Pulaski, or gave any order there. He has, in fact, printed the record, notwithstanding the evidence given, with an entire omission of that section in my record.

Now, as you were present some portion of the time, as I distinctly recollect, when I gave orders to Gillmore there—and, if I recollect aright, you, with others, accompanied me in my visits of inspection through all the batteries on the first day of that bombardment, when we were constantly fired at from the fort, as we passed between or through the intervals of the batteries—I should be glad if you would give me, as early as convenient, any recollections that you have, of this or other matters, that you have noticed, relating to the duties I performed there; and, especially, what you recollect of the following, of which *my* recollection is perfect: At between twelve and one o'clock of the second day, I was at a sand-hill, close in rear of the three ten-inch gun battery, and with Gillmore was examining the fort through the large tripod telescope fixed in the hill, when a storm of the Blakely shell passed closely over us; and yourself, with one or two others, were in that group.

After some minutes examination, I said to Gillmore, "We must aim our guns at the angle of the back of the mask-wall to peel it from that "whole face, and that will make a breach too wide "for that small garrison" (whose numbers we knew) "to defend." And I added, "If that is "done, we will storm the fort to-morrow night." You immediately asked who was going to command the storming column? and I replied that I should command it myself. You then told me you should like to lead it with two Irish companies that were there; and I replied to you that you should do it. I then turned to Gillmore and directed him to have scaling ladders prepared, specifying generally the different lengths that I thought it would be best to have made.

Gillmore soon after left, and within one and a

half to two hours the flag of Pulaski fell. I watched anxiously for the same ten or fifteen minutes that they took to get it down: and then, as Gillmore was not to be found in the batteries, I sent Lieutenant-colonel Hall, of Serrell's regiment, on a horse, through the batteries, to stop the firing; and I followed rapidly to the upper batteries, with my Adjutant-general, Ely, and ordered a boat from the creek to send him over. During the time they were launching the boat, you came up; and I then requested you, as Adjutant-general to General Hunter, who was in chief command, to go over and receive the surrender, stating to you the terms on which the fort was to be received.

Some fifteen or twenty minutes after, though you had not gone far in consequence of the high wind and tide against you, Gillmore came up in a great flurry from the light-house, three miles off, as I understood, where he had been eating his dinner; and I authorized him to go over to the fort also, where he, in connection with yourself and Captain Ely, the Adjutant-generals of his superior General officers, arranged, as I understood it, the terms of surrender, as had been directed.

Now, General, will you give me your recollections on any of the above matters, or any other such that I was concerned in, in connection with the capture of that work, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,
HENRY W. BENHAM.
Gen. CHARLES G. HALPINE.

[REMARKS OF GENERAL HALPINE ON THE ABOVE.]

The foregoing, in so far as it relates to General Benham, is correct in all its main particulars,—the order to receive the surrender of the fort, however, on no other terms than "unconditional "surrender," having been given to Major Halpine by Major-general David Hunter, who was present and in chief command during the whole bombardment,—his headquarters being at the brass tripod-telescope, to which General Benham has above referred. And here, perhaps, a few words about the seige of Fort Pulaski and its surrender might not be out of place:

For the success of that enterprise General Gillmore has arrogated an amount of credit to which he certainly was not entitled. When operations for the seige commenced, he was Captain of Engineers, and Chief-engineer on the staff of General Timothy W. Sherman, now in command at Newport; and during the later preparations for the bombardment and the bombardment itself, he was simply the directing Engineer Officer of the works, under the command of Major-general Hunter. For him, therefore, to assume, as he has done, all credit for that important siege and its success, is nothing but a false pretence. As well might the Chief-engineer on the staff of General Grant have suppressed General Grant's

name altogether, and only given his own in reporting the sieges and surrenders of Fort Donelson and Vicksburg.

But still less than this was General Gillmore entitled to the whole credit, or any great part of the credit, for the capture of Pulaski. Had his original plans been carried out, we might have been firing ten-inch solid shot from Columbiads and thirteen-inch shell from mortars, from the day the bombardment commenced until now, without having caused any serious discomfort to the men and officers of the opposing garrison. Gillmore's original plan only contemplated a bombardment from the upper sand-hills of Tybee Island, with Columbiads and mortars—his nearest batteries being about two thousand, six hundred yards, and his farthest batteries fully three thousand, seven hundred yards, from the work to be assailed.

Out of this ineffectual scheme he was reluctantly but effectually derided and argued—but chiefly derided—by Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, new General-in-chief of Ordnance, on the staff of Grant; Lieutenant J. H. Wilson of the Topographical Engineers, since heard of as Major-general Wilson of the Cavalry, who committed the blunder of capturing Jeff Davis; and Lieutenant Patrick J. O'Rourke of the regular Engineers, subsequently killed while commanding a New York Brigade of Infantry at the battle of Gettysburgh. They laughed at the fears which Gillmore expressed, that ordnance and ordnance stores in any sufficient quantity could not be moved across the open place on Tybee Island, called "the jaws of death,"—a place clearly under the fire of, and without any protection from, Fort Pulaski's barbette guns; and having at last obtained the doubting Captain's consent to this experiment, it was by the inspiration and under the guidance of these young officers, that the lower and only effective batteries of the siege, were erected.

It was, we say, by the request, and still more by the ridicule of these young officers, that the then Captain Gillmore was compelled—sovereignly against his own judgment and protest—to consent to the erection of batteries at Goat's Point, on Tybee Island, distant only seventeen hundred yards from Fort Pulaski; and to the armament of these, under the special direction of the then Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, with thirty-pounder Parrot guns, and some eight-inch Columbiads throwing the James projectile. All know the result. It was by the Parrott and James projectiles that the face of the *point coupeé* was breached after about thirty hours of fire; and the surrender was then precipitated by the fact that projectiles passing through these breaches began to strike the magazines on the other side of the Fort, threatening a general blow-up of the garrison,—and to this, as one of the advantages

of breaching at that point, we very distinctly remember General Benham's having called attention, before the bombardment began, he having been one of the Engineer Officers engaged in the construction of Fort Pulaski, and consequently knowing where its magazines were located and how they could be reached.

General Benham, during the siege, and for some weeks preceding, was Chief-of-staff and Chief-of-engineers, on the staff of Major-general Hunter, and had certainly ordered the erection of some batteries on Dawfuskie Island, to assist in the bombardment. It is true, these batteries proved to be out of range and accomplished nothing; but we distinctly affirm that they accomplished just as much as could have been accomplished by the ten-inch Columbiads and thirteen-inch mortar batteries, originally designed and erected by General Gillmore as his only agencies for conducting the attack.—*N. Y. Citizen.*

SOUTH CAROLINA MAIDS OF THE OLDEN TIMES.

—In turning over the leaves of a very delightful book, published some years since, our eye chanced to fall on the following Petition, signed by sixteen maids of Charleston, and presented to the Governor of that Province, on the first of March, 1748:

To His Excellency Governor Johnson:

The humble petition of all the maids whose names are underwritten:

Whereas, we humbly petitioners, are at present, in a very melancholy disposition of mind, considering how all the bachelors are blindly captivated by widows, and our youthful charms thereby neglected: the consequence of this our request is, that your Excellency will, for the future, order that no widow shall for the future presume to marry any young man till the maids are provided for; or else pay each of them a fine for satisfaction for invading our liberties; and likewise a fine to be laid on all such bachelors as shall be married to widows. The great disadvantage it is to us old maids is, that the widows, by their forward carriages, do *snap up* the young men, and have the vanity to think their merits beyond ours, which is a great imposition on us who ought to have the preference.

This is humbly recommended to your Excellency's consideration, and we hope you will prevent any further insults.

And we poor maids, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

P. S.—I being the oldest maid, and thereby most concerned, do think it proper to be the messenger to your Excellency in behalf of my fellow-subscribers.—*Savannah Georgian and Journal.*

SANDY HOOK LIGHT-HOUSE.—In 1762, JOHN

CRUGER, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, LEONARD LISPENDARD, and WILLIAM BAYARD, by direction of the Legislature of the Colony of New York, and as Trustees for the Government, purchased four acres of ground on the point of Sandy Hook, and there erected a light-house and out-buildings. There had, we believe, been a beacon-light displayed there before, but this was the first permanent light-house built. During the early part of the Revolution, the light was extinguished by order of the Government; and, in 1790, the grounds, buildings, &c., were ceded by the People of the State of New York to the United States of America.

This seems to dispose of all the pretensions of New Jersey, to interfere with that property.

A LOVE AFFAIR OF BENEDICT ARNOLD'S.—The following is a veritable letter, written by General Benedict Arnold, inclosing one to Miss Deblois of Boston. It was addressed to Mrs. General Knox, who was then residing in Boston, and was a friend of Arnold's lady love, who was, as we understand from one of her few surviving contemporaries, quite a belle in Boston, a lady of most respectable standing in society, and of fortune. Whether she reciprocated Arnold's passion we cannot learn. Whether she did or did not, however, it is certain that the parties were never united and the lady was never married. Tradition says that some time subsequently to the date of this letter, she went so far as to enter the church for the purpose of being married to a Boston gentleman; and that there the marriage was forbidden by her own mother, for what reason is not now known.

Miss Deblois lived and died in Boston, in single blessedness and high respectability. It will be seen by the impassioned language of Arnold's letter that he made love even as he fought and did everything else,—with all his might and main. And one cannot help reflecting how very different might have been the history of this brave but passionate and ill-principled man, had he succeeded in this love affair.

At the time he wrote this letter he was perhaps at the zenith of his fame. It was just subsequent to his brilliant career in Canada and along the lakes. The original letter, in Arnold's own hand writing, was recently discovered among the papers of General Knox. It is written in a handsome, free, and unaffected hand. *The Boston Traveller* which publishes this letter, gives the spelling and capitalizing as in the original.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

"WATERTOWN, March, 1777.

"DEAR MADAME: I have taken the liberty of inclosing A Letter for the Heavenly Miss Deblos, which beg the favor of your delivering, with the Trunk of Gowns, &c., which Mrs.

"Colburn promis'd me to send to your House. "I hope she will make no objections against receiving them. I made no doubt you will soon have the pleasure seeing the Charming Mrs. Emery, and have it in your power to give me some favourable Intelligence. I shall remain Under the most Anxious Suspense until I have the favour of a line from you, who (if I may Judge) will from your own experience, conceive the fond Anxiety, the Glowing hopes, and Chilling fears, that Alternately possess the breast of

"Dear Madame,

"Your Obed't & most Humble Serv't,

"B. ARNOLD.

"Mrs. KNOX, Boston."

THE FIRST SILK MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES.—Mr. T. Kohn, a merchant of this city, who deals in ribbons, fringes, &c., has put up some valuable machinery in Mr. Thrall's building, near the railroad station, for weaving silk. He showed us a piece of silk, yesterday, containing twelve yards, which was made by this machinery, and which he claims is the first piece of silk ever made in this country. It is very heavy, made of double thread, and is a plaid of five colors. It is certainly a successful experiment. Mr. Kohn has machinery for producing six hundred different patterns of figured silks; and he intends to do a good business at silk making. He also intends to make ribbons. Mr. Albert Sugden, who superintends the work, is an experienced and competent weaver; and he has procured from England certain portions of the machinery used, and directed the work in putting it up. The piece of silk shown us is seven-eighths of a yard wide; and it is thought to be worth two dollars a yard, though it can probably be sold for less.—*Hartford Times.*

[REPLY TO THE ABOVE.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE N. Y. TRIBUNE.

SIR: I cut the above slip from *The Tribune* of Dec. 21. On reading it, I called a witness to the stand—my mother—who, though verging toward fourscore years, has an eye still undimmed, and a natural force but little abated. She is a granddaughter of Colonel Jedediah Elderkin, who, with his compeer, Colonel Eliphalet Dyer, were prominent lawyers at Windham, Connecticut, during most of the last half of the eighteenth century. Colonel Elderkin took a great interest in the manufacture of silk. He had a farm a few miles from Windham, where he grew the mulberry, and had quite an extensive cocoonery. He procured a loom and a weaver from Europe; and my mother distinctly remembers seeing pieces of silk made, more than sixty years ago. Colonel Elderkin had the silk made into dresses for his

daughters. Silk handkerchiefs were made in considerable numbers.

From causes not now known to me, the manufacture was discontinued; but to this day, silk thread is made, I think, at Mansfield, in Connecticut. I was, myself, at the house of my maternal grandfather at Windham, twenty-five years ago, and then examined many of the papers of Colonel Elderkin, and selected out portions of his correspondence with different persons in reference to the silk culture and manufacture. In my removal from New-York, the papers have been mislaid, but the subject interested me at the time; and the article from *The Hartford Times* brought it again vividly to my recollection. It is greatly to be hoped that this enterprise of Mr. Kohn may be successful. If he may not claim the honor of having woven the first web, he may still have claim to the greater honor of being the first successful pioneer in an enterprise which may in some degree relieve us from our dependence on the silk-looms of Europe.

Very truly your friend,

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL.

CHERRY VALLEY, Dec. 25, 1857.

A VENERABLE BILL OF COSTS.—There is in the possession of B. H. Jarvis, Esq., formerly Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, quite a literary and legal curiosity. We subjoin a copy :

NATHANIEL HAZARD vs CORNELIUS EWETSE,	MAYOR'S COURT, April 1st, 1746.	MAYOR'S CHAMBERS.	£ s. d.
Entering action and summons.		2	3
Serving and return.	1	9	
Filing declaration.	1	0	
Entering return of summons.	1	0	
Rule to plead.	9		
Rule of continuance.	9		
Entering judgment by default.	2	0	
Entering judgment confessed.	2	0	
Recorder.	6		
Attorney and Counsel.	1	0	
Making up the record.	9	0	
Crye and Bellringer.	1	9	
Execution.	1	6	
Drawing costs and copy.	1	6	
Taxing costs.	1	0	
Dam....£5 0s. 6d.	2	12	3
Costs ... 2 12 3		8	10
Total.. 7 12 9			£2 16 1

NEW YORK, April 1st, 1746.

I DO TAX this Bill at two Pounds Sixteen Shillings and one Penny, poundage included.

DAN. HORSMANDE.

THE FIRST WESTERN STEAMBOAT.—The Newport (Ky.) *News* has the annexed interesting account of the first steamboat on the Western waters :

The first steamboat that ever run on the Western waters, was built under the superintendence of

Mr. Robson, who spent his old age with his son William, two miles back of Newport, Kentucky.

He was employed by Fulton, Livingston, & Co., of New York. The boat was launched at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on the seventeenth day of March, 1811, and called the *New Orleans*. She was primed with a bluish colored paint. She passed New Madrid, Missouri, at the time of the earthquake in December, 1811. Mr. Scowls, now living in Covington, a wealthy man, was Cabin-boy on her; Andrew Jack was Pilot; and a Mr. Baker was Engineer. She carried General Coffee and Don Carl from Natchez with their troops down to New Orleans, in 1814, at the time General Jackson was defending that city against the British.

THE FIRST STATE PRISON.—Few of our readers probably know that there is yet standing within the city of New York, the first "State Prison" ever erected in the State of New-York, and one of the first built in the United States.

This old State Prison still stands in the Ninth Ward, on the block bounded by Washington, Amos, West, and Charles-streets; and is now occupied as a brewery. It was erected in the then village of Greenwich, in the years 1794 and 1795; and was opened for the reception of prisoners from the entire State, in 1796. It was a large three-story, stone building, having all its workshops in the rear. The space was inclosed by a strong stone wall, fourteen feet high in front and twenty-three in the rear, within which stood the Prison and its appendages. The whole inclosure comprised about four acres, and included the three blocks of ground on Washington and West-streets, between Christopher and Perry.

This Prison continued the only receptacle for persons convicted of felonies in this State, until 1816, when the western regions having become populous, the State Prison at Auburn was commenced, and completed in 1818.

The New York Prison was, however, kept up until about 1828, when the new one at Mount Pleasant, commonly called Sing Sing, having been completed, the prisoners were transferred thither and the old building purchased by the City Government.

In the early history of this Prison, revolts were quite frequent. In 1803, one occurred, which was not suppressed until three prisoners were killed and several wounded. A strong guard was constantly kept up, composed of a Captain, two Corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and twenty privates. Besides these there was one Principal, one Deputy, and fifteen Assistant-keepers.

The Prison was under the government of a Board of Seven Inspectors, appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This Board made the necessary rules for

the government of the Prison, appointed the officers, purchased supplies, etc.

The old building, as it now stands, half surrounded by other edifices, is an interesting memento of the past.—*N. Y. Times.*

THE FIRST DUEL IN THE UNITED STATES.—Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that the first duel in the now United States, was fought at Plymouth in 1621, the year succeeding the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Sabine in his *Notes*, says: “The parties were Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Stephen Hopkins, and, having a dispute, they settled it—gentlemen-like—with a sword and dagger. Both were wounded. Without a statute law on the subject, the whole company of Puritans assembled to consider and punish the offence. The decision was the wisest that could have been made. Doty and Leister, were ordered to be tied together, heads and feet for twenty-four hours, without food or drink; but the intercession of their master, their own humanity and promises, procured a speedy release.”

MASSACHUSETTS SEVENTY YEARS AGO.—An exchange in some well considered comments on “the progress of the world,” remarks: In our own country, the signs of progress and improvement are numerous. The arts of peace were never more sedulously cultivated, and changes for the better are constantly taking place, changes in which the nobler and purer spirit of our nature is made distinct and apparent, and a deeper degree of interest is manifested for the unfortunate and suffering. Look, for example, at the following paragraphs, descriptive of the condition of the affairs in Massachusetts, seventy years ago:

THE PILLORY IN STATE STREET.—Fifty years ago, criminals were often sentenced to exposure on the pillory, which sentence was thus accomplished: In the jail yard, then located in Court-square, was kept a gallows on wheels, which, on an occasion for its services, was rolled down State-street, East of the old City-hall, and on this the criminals were exhibited to the gaze of the assembled crowd, who generally confined themselves to derisive remarks and shouts; but once in a while a mischievous urchin would throw a rotten egg, or some other missile, at the head of the pilloried prisoner. At one time, four persons named Southack, Pierpont, Stover, and Hall, were placed in the pillory for swindling. They stood facing each point of the compass, and each hour were changed, so that in four hours they had all faced the four points of the compass. Another punishment was to place a man on the gallows with a rope around his neck. On one occasion, a pris-

oner so punished, came near being actually hanged, after which the practice was abandoned. Public whipping for theft was also in vogue about the same period; and there are persons now living who have seen men, and even a woman, publicly whipped on a gallows in State-street.

MORE OF THE GOOD OLD TIMES.—The following memorandum have been discovered in the archives of Hampshire County. From the cool, business-like style in which he mentions it, hanging people must have been a pleasure to Sheriff Porter. The style in which a memorandum is made of such little matters as hanging and whipping, and this on a piece of paper devoted to another purpose, as if to sacrifice a clean sheet were a clean waste, is admirable:

SENTENCES AT THE SUPREME COURT, April, 1763.

Abijah Converse to be hanged.

Asa Hopkins to stand in the pillory one hour, be whipped twenty stripes and pay costs—standing committed.

Cost.....	.£17	15	10
Collecting fees.....		10	6

18 6 4

Abraham Parkhurst to be whipped ten stripes and pay costs, standing committed, &c.

Extract from the sentences.

Attest,

E. PORTER, Sheriff.

HISTORY OF WHEAT IN AMERICA.—Wheat was first introduced in the North American Colonies, in 1595, on the Elizabeth Islands, in Massachusetts, by Gosnold, at the time he explored that coast. That has been upwards of two hundred and fifty years ago, and since that time, so great has been the increase of that cereal, that in the year 1849, according to the census of 1850, the product amounted to 160,503,809 bushels. Up to 1610, and perhaps later, England supplied the Colonies with the greater part of their bread-stuffs.

THE FIRST TEA DESTROYED.—*The Newburyport Herald* has published some very interesting revolutionary reminiscences. We make the following extract from one of the series of papers, as it relates to a subject which will never lose its interest. After mentioning the excise laws of 1754, and the troubles respecting the Stamp act, *The Herald* says;—“Next came the tea difficulty; and all have heard what was done by the ‘Mohawks’ of Boston with the tea at that port: but as yet none of our historians have given the fact that, before Boston acted in the disguise of Indians, the ship-carpenters of Newburyport publicly and openly burned up the tea in Market-square. How this well-authenticated fact escaped, that the first defiant resistance to tea imposition in this country was in Newburyport, we cannot tell. But twice was this resistance made, once by burning it in Federal Street, and

"again in the Market. The tea was stored in the powder-house for safe keeping. Ebenezer Johnson, standing one day upon the timber of his yard, called his men about him, and after a few patriotic words, gave the order: 'All who are ready to join, knock your adzes from their handles, shoulder their handles, and follow me.' Every adze in the yard was knocked off; and that stout, athletic man, who would have marched through a regiment of 'red-coats,' had they then stood in his way, taking his broad-axe as an emblem of leadership and for use, marched at the head of the company to the powder-house. There that well-tried axe opened a way through the door, and each man shouldering his chest of tea, again fell into line. They marched direct to the Market, and then in single file around the old meeting-house, where the pump now is, when Johnson's axe opened his chest, and box and tea were on the ground together. Each man as he came up did the same, when, with his own hand, Johnson lighted the pile and burned it to ashes; and on that spot, without disguise, the ship-carpenters of Newburyport destroyed the first tea that was destroyed in America."

What will Boston say to this?

BASS-WOOD PAPER.—Several papers refer to this article, as a recent invention. It is not so. As early as 1796, a newspaper prepared from bass-wood, was printed in Vermont, by the celebrated Matthew Lyon, bearing the title of *The Scourge of Aristocracy, and Repository of Important Political Truth*. It was in this paper that Lyon published the libel for which he was tried and convicted under the famous Sedition law. He was sentenced to an imprisonment in jail for four months, and the payment of a fine of *One thousand dollars*, and costs. Lyon died in 1822, and repeated attempts were made, after his decease, to obtain from Congress a remission of the fine and costs, but without success, till 1840; when it was voted to refund the amount, with interest, to his legal representatives.—*Salem Gazette*.

AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM GENERAL SCOTT.—Every reader, we doubt not, will agree with us that the subjoined letter is not only an interesting one, but that the concluding sentence of it makes it a remarkable one. It is an exact copy of a letter written by General Winfield Scott, then a Captain in the army, during a sojourn at his home in Petersburg, Virginia, on the 18th of June, 1811, just one year before the Declaration of War. The letter was addressed to an old friend in this

city, and is now in possession of his son, J. L. Edwards, Esq.—*The National Intelligencer*.

"PETERSBURG, JUNE, 1811.

"I believe we have very little village news to give you, nor do I know what would please you in that way.

"Of myself—that personage who fills so large a space in every man's *own* imagination, and so small a one in the imagination of every other—I can say but little; perhaps less would please you more. Since my return to Virginia, my time has been passed in easy transitions from pleasure to study, from study to pleasure; in my gayety forgetting the student, in the student forgetting my gayety. I have generally been in the office of my friend, Mr. Leigh, though not unmindful of the studies connected with my present profession; but you will easily conceive my military ardor has suffered abatement. Indeed, it is my design, as soon as circumstances will permit, to throw the feather out of my cap and resume it in my hand. Yet, should war come at last, my enthusiasm will be rekindled; and then who knows but that I may yet write my history with my sword?"

"Yours, truly,

"WINFIELD SCOTT.

"LEWIS EDWARDS, Esq., Washington."

WINTER PERILS OF OLD.—Looking through a copy of *The Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, dated Feb. 8, 1768—only a hundred years ago—we find, under the date of "NEW YORK, Jan. 25," the following:

"A letter from *Montreal* dated Dec. 27, 1767, advises that it is feared the couriers with the mail from New York for that place are both drowned in attempting to cross the river, [St. Lawrence.] "They were spoke with by a man who came afterward to *Montreal*, who says that three days after he saw them, he was informed that they, with two countrymen, took a canoe to cross at the Falls of *St. Louis*, three leagues above *Montreal*, and that soon after there came on thick Weather, and a heavy Fall of Snow, in which he imagines that the Canoe was overset by the Ice, and the People drowned, and they have heard nothing of them since. There is not the smallest Chance of ever finding the Mail, as the River is very broad, full of floating Ice, and the Current exceedingly strong for many Miles down."

"Another Letter from *Skenesborough*, [now Whitehall] "of the 14th of January, confirms the above account, and says, it is the Mail which left *New York* the latter end of November: 'Tis added that twenty-four Persons have suffered the same Fate within a Month past, by a Thaw, that brought great Quantities of Ice

"down that rapid River—such as had not been known at that Season in the Memory of Man. "Lake George has not been passable by Ice this Season, though the Route to *Crown Point* has been good ever since November."

The mail now goes through from New York to Montreal in fewer hours than the days required for the same service a hundred years ago, and that without drowning the carriers.

THE GRAVE OF JEFFERSON.—"I ascended, (writes one who some time since visited Monticello,) "the winding road which leads from Charlottesville to Monticello. The path leads "a circuitous ascent of about two miles up a "miniature mountain, to the farm and the grave "of Jefferson. On entering the gate which opens "into the enclosure, numerous paths diverge in "various directions, winding through beautiful "groves to the summit of the hill. From the "peak on which the house stands, a grand and "nearly unlimited view opens to the thickly "wooded hills and fertile valleys which stretch "out on either side. The University, with its "dome, porticoes, and colonnade, looks like a "fair city in the plain; Charlottesville seems to "be directly beneath. No spot can be imagined "as combining greater advantages of grandeur, "healthfulness, and seclusion. The house is noble "in its appearance: two large columns support a "portico which extends from the wings, and into "which the front door opens. The apartments "are neatly furnished and embellished with "statues, busts, portraits, and natural curiosities. "The grounds and outhouses have been neglected, "Mr. Jefferson's attention being absorbed from "such personal concerns by the cares attendant "on the superintendence of the University, which, "when in health, he visited daily since its erection "commenced. At a short distance, behind the "mansion, in a quiet, shady spot, the visitor sees "a square enclosure, surrounded by a low, un- "mortared stone wall, which he enters by a neat "wooden gate. This is the family burying- "ground, containing ten or fifteen graves, none "of them marked by epitaphs, and only a few "distinguished by any memorial. When I saw "it, the vault was just arched, and in readiness "for the plain stone which is to cover it. May it "ever continue, like Washington's, without any "adventitious attraction of conspicousness, for "when we or our posterity need any other me- "mento of our debt of honor to those names than "their simple inscriptions on paper, wood, or "stone, gorgeous tombs would be a mockery to "their memories. When gratitude shall cease to "consecrate their remembrances in the hearts of "our citizens, no cenotaph will inspire the rever- "ence we owe to them."

AN ACCIDENTAL RESEMBLANCE.—The *Washington Star* says: The original rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, in the hand-writings of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and the elder Adams, is preserved in the State Department with great care. It has been framed and placed in a box of black walnut, hung against the wall, the door of which is of one piece about two feet square. At certain angles of the room, the grain and natural marks of which the door is fabricated, present a singular appearance. Without the exercise of any great fancy, a representation of the battle of Bunker Hill can be discovered, though some contend it has a great resemblance to the storming of Stony Point, or the attack on King's Mountain. It is quite a curiosity.

A SINGULAR HISTORICAL FACT.—Alluding to the Battle of Bunker's Hill, which occurred on the seventeenth of June, the *Boston Post* remarks:

It is a singular fact, that on the eighteenth of June, 1775, there were few who would have cared to claim a share in the transactions of the previous day. The attempt to occupy so exposed a place as Breed's Hill was pronounced rash in the conception and discreditable in the execution; there was a deep feeling of disappointment and mortification in the Colonies at the result, and the complaints were loud and many at the lack of good conduct evinced somewhere. Years elapsed before any one claimed for himself, or for a friend, the honor of having commanded on the occasion; and other years elapsed before there was a general notice of the anniversary. Yet the bravery of its chief actors was so conspicuous as to elicit the warmest tributes; and intelligent sympathizers with the cause of freedom looked deeper than the outward sign of defeat. One of them, Governor Johnson, in a truly eloquent speech in the House of Commons, on the thirtieth of October, 1775, delivered the judgment of posterity. "To a mind" he said, "who "loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of free- "dom, no spectacle can be more affecting than "the action at Bunker's Hill. To see an irregu- "lar peasantry, commanded by a physician, in- "ferior in numbers, opposed by every circum- "stance of cannon and bombs that could terrify "timid minds, calmly wait the attack of the "gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the "world, with an excellent train of artillery, and "twice repulsing those very troops who had often "chased the chosen battalions of France, and at "last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so "respectable a manner that they were not even "pursued—who can reflect on such scenes and "not adore the constitution of Government that "could breed such men."

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL.—The following extract, says the Washington *National Intelligencer*, is from a letter written by a lady upward of eighty years old, residing in Philadelphia, to her grandson, in Washington, District of Columbia:

"When GEORGE WASHINGTON delivered his 'Farewell Address,' in the room at the South-east corner of Chestnut and Sixth-streets, I sat immediately in front of him. It was in the room Congress occupied. The table of the Speaker was between the two windows on Sixth-street. The daughter of Dr. C. of Alexandria, the physician and intimate friend of WASHINGTON, Mrs. H., whose husband was the Auditor, was a very dear friend of mine. Her brother WASHINGTON was one of the Secretaries of General WASHINGTON. Young DANDRIDGE, a nephew of Mrs. WASHINGTON, was the other. I was included in Mrs. H.'s party to witness the august, the solemn scene. Mr. H. declined going with Mrs. H. as she had determined to go early, so as to secure the front bench. It was fortunate for Mrs. C. afterwards Mrs. L. that she could not trust herself to be so near her honored grandfather. My dear father stood very near her. She was terribly agitated. There was a narrow passage from the door of the entrance to the room, which was on the East, dividing the rows of benches. General WASHINGTON stopped at the end to let Mr. ADAMS pass to the chair. The latter always wore a full suit of bright drab, with lash or loose cuffs to his coat. He always wore wrist ruffles. He had not changed his fashions. He was a short man with a good head. With his family he attended our church twice a day.—General WASHINGTON's dress was a full suit of black. His military hat had the black cockade. There stood the 'Father of his Country,' acknowledged by the nation—the first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his Countrymen. No marshall, with gold colored scarfs, attended him—there was no cheering—no noise. The most profound silence greeted him, as if the great assembly desired to hear him breath, and catch his breath in homage of their hearts. Mr. ADAMS covered his face with both his hands; the sleeves of his coat and his hands were covered with tears. Every now and then, there was a suppressed sob. I cannot describe WASHINGTON's apperance as I felt it—perfectly composed and self-possessed till the close of his address, then, when strong nervous sobs broke loose—when tears covered the face—then the great man was shaken. I never took my eyes from his face. Large drops came from his eyes. He looked to the youthful children, who were parting with their fathe, their friend, as if his heart was with them, and would be to the end."

JEFF. DAVIS IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY.—Jeff. Davis's appointment and commission as First Lieutenant of United States Dragoons, was found among his private papers, at his residence, near Jackson, Mississippi, on the eleventh of July, 1863, by J. H. Goldsmith, Company B. Fourteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

The appointment is simply a partly printed and partly written letter-sheet, with the blanks filled. It is dated June the fifth, 1834, and signed "F. C. 'Jones," or "H. Jones," [Roger Jones, probably] as nearly as I can make out. The commission is on parchment, dated May the tenth, 1834, is signed "Andrew Jackson, President," in a bold hand, and countersigned "Lewis Cass, Secretary of War." The commission is much defaced by time and water.

MILD WINTERS.—The following is copied from the fly-leaf of a book in my possession, written, I believe, by the late John Targee, esq.

P.

"JANUARY, 1824.

"JANUARY 15.—This day arrived from Troy a sloop, and the steamboat James Kent arrived last evening from Coxsackie—the Kent having been caught in the ice in the early part of the season. The river had been closed as far down as Poughkeepsie, but owing to the uncommon mildness of the season the ice gave way, and the above vessels came down to the city. Yesterday, the fourteenth, the weather was uncommon windy and cold. Fifteenth, in the morning, mild; afternoon, more cold—thermometer 31.

"NOTE.—The river closed again, and opened on or about the eighth of March, when the *Fry Fly* steamboat arrived on the tenth of March from Albany." *New York Tribune.*

INCIDENTS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF CHINA, MAINE.*

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I wish to offer for publication some account of the first settlement of China, which commenced about ninety years ago, in the time of the Revolutionary war, by some people from Massachusetts, when this part of Maine was almost entirely an unbroken wilderness.

The incidents I am about to relate I heard from the mouths of those people, some seventy years ago—being now nearly eighty years of age. They settled on the easterly shore of the Twelve Mile pond, on a fine tract of land sloping westerly to the pond. Their nearest neighbors were in

* From *The Maine Farmer.*

Vassalboro', (Getchell's Corner,) ten miles distant. They passed the first winter, with which for severity our winters now would hardly begin to compare, in which they suffered extremely from want and cold. In the spring following, the men having planted some potatoes on a piece of burnt land, started off in quest of food. They proceeded down the pond, seven miles, to the outlet. Leaving their canoe, they proceeded four miles by spotted trees to Getchell's Corner; thence in a canoe eighteen miles down the Kennebec to Cobossee Conte, where was then the only grist mill in the region, built by Dr. Gardiner in 1760. The corn was then all brought from Boston in vessels. Here they expected to get employment enough to buy a few bushels, get it ground, and return to their starving families; but to their dreadful disappointment the corn had been all sold, and they set out with heavy hearts for home, with their empty bags. After they got above tide water at Augusta, they had to pole their canoe up the rapids, twelve miles, to Getchell's Corner, thence homeward the way they came, having been gone a week. Their half-famished families saw them at a distance on the pond, and immediately put on their kettles with water to cook some pudding as soon as they should arrive. Their little ones ran down to the shore to greet them. They walked into their desolate homes, looking at each other in mute despair. Not a word was spoken for half an hour—their little ones crying with hunger. But how did they make out to live after this? is the natural inquiry. Well, they had to dig up the potatoes they had planted—perhaps not all of them—the fish, shad, and alewives, in the spring ran up to the outlet in such vast numbers that I have heard the old people say that they could have walked over the stream on the backs of them on snow-shoes. Then the moose were very abundant. They would wade into the pond in the night, and brouse among the lilies and water grass. The people would watch for them and go out in canoes and kill them with clubs. Then they got to keeping a cow or two, pasturing them in the woods and meadow, and cutting hay for them in the meadow. Thus they got along, placing their reliance upon a kind Providence, until the wilderness blossomed like a rose. There were fine farms, stocks of cattle, and diaries, more than sixty years ago, all in sight of the now pleasant village of China. Many a traveller has been charmed with the sight of these farms and of the beautiful sheet of water below them, now called China lake. Such were the hardships suffered by the pioneers of China, (formerly Harlem) but they have long since passed away.

FARMINGTON, ME.

DANIEL SEWALL.

XIV.—NOTES.

THE MONUMENT OF BURROWS.—In the year 1815, an "OLD NEW-YORKER" (Matthew L. Davis, Esq.) was travelling through the town of Portland, Maine, where he discovered the grave of the gallant Captain William Burrows, of the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*—who was mortally wounded on the fifth of September, 1813, in a severe but successful contest with the English Brig *Boxer*—was without a head stone. Mr. Davis's patriotic liberality on this occasion was thus noticed by *The Portland Argus*:—

"A gentleman from New York, Matthew L. Davis, Esq., while passing through town a few days since, on a tour to the Eastward, had accidentally taken a walk into our burying ground. His attention was attracted to the neglected grave of the late gallant Captain Burrows. The only guide to the spot, where is deposited the remains of one who had so much heroic merit and who deserved so much of his country, was the tomb stone of his deceased competitor, the British Captain, Blythe. This was erected two years since by the surviving officers of the *Boxer*. The thought was instant. Mr. Davis immediately gave orders for an elegant marble monument to be erected over the grave of Burrows, to be finished by his return, and without the sparing of labor or expense. It is now completed and put up. Its style of execution does much credit to the ingenious artist, Mr. Bartlett Adams, of this town; and the inscription is highly creditable to the taste, judgment, and modesty of the generous donor, and worthy the hero, whom it is designed to commemorate."

The following is the memorial inscribed on the Monument:—

BENEATH THIS STONE
moulders
THE BODY OF

WILLIAM BURROWS,

LATE COMMANDER
OF THE
UNITED STATES BRIG ENTERPRISE,
*who was mortally wounded on the fifth
of September, 1813,*

IN AN ACTION WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO INCREASE
THE FAME OF AMERICAN VALOUR, BY CAP-
TURING HIS

BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S BRIG
BOXER,

AFTER A SEVERE CONTEST OF
Forty-five minutes.

A passing stranger has erected this monument of respect to the manes of a Patriot, who in the hour of peril, obeyed the loud summons of an injured country, and who gallantly met, fought, and conquered the foeman.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. F. D. V.

A SLIGHT DIFFERENCE.—The State of New York has for many years had in its employ, as custodian of its archives, that eminent scholar and archaeologist, Doctor E. B. O'CALLAGHAN. All the earlier manuscripts are in the Dutch language. Many years ago these manuscripts were translated into English, and last summer the Doctor had occasion to verify some of the papers. In one, it was stated that the Directors at Amsterdam, in sending to this country a lot of emigrants, had supplied each one with a *codfish hook*. By reference to the original, Dr. O'CALLAGHAN found that it meant each a *pea-jacket*.—*Grand Rapids (Mich.) Democrat*, Nov. 12, 1867.

PUNNING TRADES TOKENS.—Will. Rose, a publican, of Coleraine, in Ireland, issued trades tokens with a Bear, passant, on the reverse—EXCHANGE. FOR A. CAN. (*i.e.*, of Beer!), and as if the pun was not ridiculous enough, there was a Rose AS A REBUS FOR HIS NAME.

Thomas Dawson, of Leeds, perpetrated a similar pun on his token, dated 1670. It says,—BEWARE. OF. YE. BEARE, evidently alluding to the strength of his beer.—*Boyne's and Akerman's Trades Tokens of the Seventeenth Century.*

W. J. F.

REMAINS OF EARTH-WORKS.—In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii., 1256, in regard to the wall of Severus, across England, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, it is said that "Hodgson, in his *History of Northumberland*, (iii. 276) states a fact 'curious if true.' 'A little West of Portgate, the earth taken out of the fosse lies spread abroad to the North in lines, just as the workmen wheeled it out and left it. The tracks of their barrows, with a slight mound on each side, remain unaltered in form.' It is scarcely credible, however, that slight elevations of earth, and superficial traces in it, should, for more than a thousand years, have successfully resisted the constant operation of the natural agencies, which are sufficient to disintegrate the hardest rock.'

So says the writer in the Dictionary. But, after reading this, we were walking across what is called in Carolina, an "*old field*," grown over and swarded down with the hard rooted and tough stemmed broom-grass so common in this

country, which had been last planted in corn, and ploughed deep, before being thrown out of cultivation. And we noticed, as often is the case, that the ridges will retain their height indefinitely long. When once coated over with roots and the growth of the grass, it is difficult to see how they can be levelled down as long as the grass lives. We find these ridges remaining even when the "*old field*" has been grown over with the pines that so commonly return, with other trees, in old fields that are not under cultivation; and then the fallen leaves will help to preserve the ridges.

And doubtless we may find, along the lines of railroads, just such banks of earth wheeled out; and remaining just as left by the workmen. And so they will remain, as the turf is unbroken.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

E. F. R.

QUERIES.

KNICKERBOCKERS.—Dickens' *Uncommercial Traveller*, after describing his lodgings in Bond street, says that the hatter's young man, when he "got his Knickerbockers on, was even cheerful."

Does he refer to Boots or Breeches?

NEW YORK.

K.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.—Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, ii., App. vii., gives a Ballad, entitled *Saintclaires Defeat*, purporting to have been written "On Occasion of the Victory of the Indians over that Officer, in 1791."

Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me who was the author of that Ballad? Mr. Stone does not give the name of the writer.

ALBANY, N. Y.

W.

REPLIES.

LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.—[*H. M.*, II., ii., 182.] The story is not true. We did not need lobster planting here, for this favorite of the old Dutch aldermen is a native of the waters of New York. Vanderdonck, writing in 1642, says, "Lobsters are plenty. Some of these are very large, being from five to six feet in length; others again are from a foot to a foot and a half long, which are the best for the table." If the "Sons of Rhode Island" can furnish specimens larger than these we will agree to eat them.

Will PRAWN be kind enough to give the name and date of the old New York newspaper referred to in his communication?

SHRIMP.

XVII.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.", or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Terra Maria; or Threads of Maryland Colonial History.* By Edward D. Neill. Phila: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 260.

If we do not mistake, the writer of this little volume was recently the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Minnesota, and author of a standard History of that State. He is now one of the Secretaries of President Johnson; and he tells us, in his Preface, that this is the result of his recreation, when not officially employed at the White House, while visiting the Congressional Library and rummaging the treasures of that fine collection.

In his treatment of the Colonial history of Maryland, he devotes Chapters, respectively, to George and Cecilius, first and second Lords Baltimore, the difficulties with Virginia, the advent of the Quakers and their influence, the disputes concerning boundaries, the Revolution of 1689, society during the Eighteenth Century, and the causes which led to the Declaration of Independence, and to the various Proprietaries.

In the treatment of his subjects, Mr. Neill has employed an easy, flowing style without wasting words for mere effect; and it will be readily seen, by the most casual reader, that, although the author does not pretend to be an expert in the History of Maryland, he knows where to look for the material, and how to employ it.

We have not seen any work, concerning the settlement and progress of Maryland, which, within the same space, contains so much substantial information on the subject; and, for that reason, we are glad to call the attention of our readers to its merits.

The publishers have issued it in a very neat dress; and it will form a very acceptable addition to the local History of Maryland.

2.—*Meditations on the actual state of Christianity, and on the attack, which are now being made upon it.* By M. Guizot. * New York: C. Scribner & Co., Sine anno. Crown octavo, pp. 590. Price \$1.75.

Two years since, the great French philosopher published his volume of *Meditations* concerning the essence of Christianity; we have now, those concerning the actual state of the Christian religion, its internal and external condition, the elements which are actively adverse and antagonistic to it, and the impulse imparted to it by that antagonism.

It is not the province of this work to make an extended examination of the various important subjects to which this volume is devoted; but we cannot lay aside a volume from the pen of M. Guizot without reminding our readers that the great ability and high character of its distinguished author commend it to their highest respect.

3.—*Language and the study of Language.* Twelve Lectures on the principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. xi, 489. Price \$2.50.

Professor Whitney, the learned author of this work, has attempted to place before his readers all the facts regarding Language, which are most important. Among these he places its nature and origin, its growth and classifications, its ethnological bearing, its value to man, etc.; and in as simple terms as possible, avoiding as far as he can do so, all technical and metaphysical phraseology, he has executed his task with great ability. The volume will find a hearty welcome among students and instructors; and its handsome dress will secure for it a place in every well-balanced library.

4.—*Tales of the Good Woman.* By a doubtful Gentleman, otherwise, James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 402. Price \$2.50.

5.—*The Bulls and the Jonathans;* comprising John Bull and Brother Jonathan and John Bull in America. By James K. Paulding. Edited by William I. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 378. Price \$2.50.

It is an injunction of the Almighty to "honor thy father and thy mother;" and Mr. Paulding, the industrious Editor of these volumes, has earned for himself many blessings for the fidelity with which he has obeyed this heavenly law, in the work which is before us.

The first of the two volumes which we have named is a collection of several of the minor papers of Mr. Paulding; the latter embraces two works, responsive to the slanders against the United States in which various English visitors indulged, about that period; and both will be welcomed, especially by those who, thirty years ago, entered into the passing excitements of the day. These excitements and their attendant bitterness have been forgotten, except by the more venerable of our contemporaries, if they have ever been known to any others who now live—and it is well, therefore to revive such works as these, abounding as they do with that sturdy love of country and unmistakeable earnestness of expression which characterized that period more than this, in order that those who shall come after us may learn some of the influences which controlled the affairs of the Union at that time and

be enabled to contrast them with the prevailing ideas of our own day.

The Editor has faithfully carried the different works through the Press, with carefully prepared *Introductions* and illustrative Notes; and we hope that his labors will be rewarded with a generous support.

6.—Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit. By Henry Ward Beecher. Phonographically reported. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 332. Price \$1.75.

Prayers to God considered as merchandise, and sold as such! Who but the late Secretary of the American Temperance Union, (so called,) would have entertained such an idea, even if two demons instead of one had prompted it? The fact exists, however, that for "several years," a grave and venerable Doctor in Divinity has listened, and thought of the "great loss" which he was experiencing in allowing so much ministerial supplication to run to waste, and employed, as a commercial speculation, an experienced phonographer to gather them, drop by drop, as they have fallen from Mr. Beecher's lips; that these Prayers to the Almighty, thus picked up, *in transitu*, have been subsequently peddled in the New York market; and that they are here, printed, at fourteen shillings per copy.

It is creditable to Mr. Beecher that he is not a party to so unholy a transaction; and we regret that such a house as our own honored publishers has so far violated all that is decent by allowing its imprint to appear on the title page of such a work—even to gratify "the Reverend Doctor "John Marsh."

7.—Genealogy of the Van Brunt Family, 1653–1867. By Teunis G. Bergen. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 79.

Rutger Joesten Van Brunt, a solid Dutch farmer, emigrated to New Netherland, in 1653, and was among the first settlers in New Utrecht, on Long Island. Like most other Dutchmen, he had a family; and his descendants are now widely scattered over the country, under the well-known names of Van Dyck, Pollock, Hegeman, Petersen, Ditmas, Vanderbilt, Styrmets, Hendrickson, Winant, Stillwell, Denyse, Rapalje, Lott, Lefferts, Cowenhoven, Benson, Preste, Boice, Nafius, Voorhies, Bergen, Van Brunt, etc.

The volume before us, from the pen of one of our contributors who is well versed in such matters, contains the Genealogy of this widely-spread family, from its foundation in America until the present time; and it will prove very useful to the student and very interesting to those who now represent the original Rutger.

The labor which is necessary for the production of such a volume is very little understood by

those who have never attempted such a work; and we can very readily understand why, by reason of its details, it may be unduly neglected by the merely casual collector. It is, however, worthy of a better fate; and we earnestly hope it may have a renumerative circulation.

8.—Mental Arithmetic; or, oral exercises in Abstract and Commercial Arithmetic, with first lessons in written Arithmetic, for the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 176. Price 45 cents.

9.—Arithmetic, Pure and Commercial. For the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 261. Price \$1.

10.—An Elementary Grammar of the English Language. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. Professor of History, General Literature, and Rhetoric, in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 238.

11.—The Southern Pictorial Fourth Reader. For Schools and Families. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 276.

12.—Holmes' Southern Fifth Reader for Schools and Families. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 408.

The above form portions of a series of textbooks prepared for schools in the Southern States, by Southern scholars, at the instance of a New York publisher, Mr. Richardson, who is known to many of our readers as the founder, and, for many years, the publisher, of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It has been the purpose of the authors of these works to exclude from their pages whatever is calculated to keep alive the existing sectional animosities, either by invidious comparisons or partisan statements; and as the ablest minds of the South are engaged in the preparations of these the importance of the undertaking cannot be too highly regarded.

The series is intended to embrace, when complete, nine Readers, three Grammars, eight volumes of Mathematics, five on Geography and Astronomy, five on the French, and three on the Latin Language, etc., and it has been welcomed throughout the South, in the most flattering manner.

The several volumes are well printed, on fair paper, and substantially bound; and we commend them to those of our readers, North and South, who are interested in the education of the rising generation.

13.—Hysteria. Remote Causes of Diseases in general Treatment of Diseases by Tonic Agency; Local or Surgical Forms of Hysteria, etc. Six Lectures delivered to the Students of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1866. By F. C. Skeen, F. R. S., late President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Consulting Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, etc. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 103.

This book is more especially interesting to our

medical friends; but it contains so much sound sense, and is withal so free from the technicalities that usually abound in medical works, that the general reader may profit by its perusal.

Mr. Skey is an advocate of the rational treatment of disease, i. e., that plan which makes nutrition and tonic medicaments the basis of the management of disease. His opposition to the spoliative and reducing system which so long held sway over the Medical profession, is bitter and undisguised; and founded as it is upon a right appreciation of the nature of disease, cannot fail to do good, while his immense experience gives to his opinions an almost judicial aspect that merely theoretical views cannot possess. The American publishers have done a good service by placing this little book within the reach of the reading public, and they have earned for themselves credit by the admirable typographical execution of the same.

14.—*Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of Rutgers Female College, April 25, 1867.* New York: Agathian Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 59.

With all the elegance of tinted laid paper and rubricated title-pages, Doctor Pierce has here recorded the inaugural services with which the Rutgers Female Institute was introduced into the charmed circle of American Colleges.

As a matter of local interest, it will commend itself to the attention of Collectors; and the young house which printed need not be ashamed of its handiwork, in producing it, even when compared with the work of other and older offices.

15.—*An Early New England Marriage Dower, with Notes on the Lineage of Richard Scott of Providence.* By Martin B. Scott. Boston: 1867. Octavo. pp. 2.

A private reprint, in separate form, of a paper which appeared in a recent number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, from the pen of M. B. Scott, Esq., a descendant of Richard.

This Richard Scott was a brother-in-law of Anne Hutchinson, and among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island; and the leading paper in this tract is a deed of conveyance to his son-in-law, Christopher Holder, of the Island of Patience, in Narragansett Bay. This deed is followed with a certificate of Roger Williams; and the Notes of the Editor conclude the volume.

We have gone over these "Notes" with some care, and we find them to be just what the editor promised in his title-page—they are notes on the family of Richard Scott, the Quaker, who died in Providence, in 1681-2, embracing notices of his own life and character; corrections of errors into which Capron fell, while on the same subject, in 1817; a brief view of the persecutions to

which his wife, Katharine Marbury, was subjected by the Puritans in Massachusetts, because of her sympathy with the Friends and the sympathy of her persecutors with barbarism and monarchy, etc.

We are glad to perceive that, even in the West, the taste for historical studies is growing; and that private gentlemen—business men and busy men—do not think it is necessary to let their legers and their counting-rooms employ all their energies or command all their sympathies.

16.—*No. I. Indian Bulletin for 1867*, containing a brief account of the North American Indians, and the interpretation of many Indian names. By Rev. N. W. Jones. New York: C. A. Alvord. 1867. Octavo. pp. 16.

We are informed by the author that "this pamphlet has been issued to subscribers, for the purpose of defraying in part the expense of an effort to establish a National Professorship of Indian Languages and Archaeology;" but as the reader is not told any other particulars concerning this "effort," we suspect that it has been issued in order that its author may be the better enabled to get a living while he continues to spend,—as he must "often" have spent before, else he would not have been able to speak so positively of what is "often required" in that undertaking—"months of labor" to ensure "the correct interpretation of a single Indian name." We do not object to such an employment of the proceeds of the sale of this tract; we only take the liberty of suggesting that there can be no necessity for a Christian minister to spend, "often," "months of labor," in ascertaining "the correct interpretation of a single Indian name," under the very queer supposition that he is thus engaged in an effort to establish a National Professorship of Indian Languages and Archaeology; and it is still more singular, that even after having thus "often" spent "months of labor" in interpreting "a single Indian name," there are still doubts, even in his own mind, concerning the correctness of the interpretations of "a few" of the names which he has introduced into this work.

With this confession of the author's ignorance of his subject, staring us in the face in his Prefatory Note, we have little prospect of entire satisfaction with the *Bulletin* itself.

On the fifth line of the first page of the text of the work, the reader is introduced to "the beautiful Pocahontas," and to her salvation of Captain Smith, evidently in open defiance of our friend, Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge; and in the same paragraph, the Indian is said to have "furnished food, shelter, land, trade, and wealth to hundreds and thousands;" to have been a "skillful mechanic, a successful physician, a practical farmer;" and to have "left a literature far more copious than the Hebrew"—very

much of which will be news to our readers, especially since the ministerial character of the relator seems to furnish a guarantee of the correctness of the statements.

17.—*A Discourse preached in Warren at the completion of the first Century of the Warren Association, September, 11, 1867, by Samuel L. Caldwell. Providence: 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.*

The "Warren Association" is one of the oldest of the Baptist Associations in the country, and one of the most influential. It was the Centennial birth-day of this venerable body which called the Pastor of the First Church, in Providence, to deliver the address which is now before us.

In 1734, there were only fifteen Baptist Churches in New England; in 1767, seventy-nine; in 1784, a hundred and fifty; in 1796, three hundred and twenty-five; in 1860, twelve hundred and ninety-one—such has been the progress of the denomination, during the past Century and a third.

Doctor Caldwell boldly confronts the testimony of modern, so-called, historians; and he tells us that this steady march to power by the Baptists of New England, during the eighteenth Century, was only because "the Truth was "mightier than the Law, than majorities, than "social customs and traditional education, than "all social forces against it;" and he does not hesitate to assert, in the most emphatic terms, that the Puritans were "intolerant" where they were in authority, and "inhospitable" to those who were unlike themselves. The Browns' unsuccessful attempt to use the Prayer-book, the refusal of the Elders to tolerate Presbyterianism, the Antinomian persecutions, the exile of Roger Williams, and the whipping of Obadiah Holmes, are among the instances referred to, to support this averment; and he very aptly cites Presidents Dunster and Chatuncey of Harvard, Lady Deborah Moody, and Hansard Knollys, as early Baptists.

The early struggle with Puritan intolerance is also made the subject of a careful and elaborate survey. He also relates the origin of the Association at Warren, its progress to power, and its subsequent divisions for greater convenience; and he closes with a very excellent retrospect of the past Century.

We observe that Doctor Caldwell alludes to the Confession of Faith of the English Baptists, in 1643; we shall be glad to learn where it may be found. There are some persons who are not satisfied with the genuineness of *all* the Confessions of the Early Baptists in England, which the Hansard Knollys Society has issued; and we are quite sure that the particular Confession which possesses the greatest historical interest—the *first*—has not been truly presented in the Society's volume. We happen to own a perfect copy of the original edition; and we speak by the book.

18.—*The General Association of Massachusetts, 1867. Minutes of the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting, Greenfield, June 25-27, with the Narrative of the State of Religion, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1867. Octavo.*

The title-page furnishes a complete description of this pamphlet, and a most useful work it is to those who are interested in the local history of Massachusetts,

The Editor—probably Doctor A. H. Quint of New Bedford—has done his work with ability and good judgment; but we are not quite sure that the Minutes of the Maine Association, referred to in our last, are not more complete and therefore more useful.

There is, in this tract, a paper of considerable interest, because of its novelty—we refer to the "Report of the Committee on the administration of Baptism in connection with admissions to "the Church."

It seems that the Pastors of some of the Churches in Massachusetts baptize persons "*before assent is given*" [*by the baptized*] "to the Covenant," while others require a *previous* confession, "avouching Personal faith and consecration to "God and Christ;" and the object of this Report is to determine which of these practices is the best; whether an unbeliever—in which class we recognize *all* who have made no Profession of their faith—is at any time entitled to Baptism or may properly be Baptised, under any circumstances. In the solution of such a question, one would suppose no Orthodox Christian, nor even an Heterodox Infidel, could possibly differ in his conclusion from every one of his neighbors, if he has read and recognizes the binding obligation of the original commission to baptize or believes the narrative of its meaning as illustrated by the practice of the primitive Christians—that, for instance, of Philip, when the eunuch indicated his desire to be Baptized.

In this, however, notwithstanding its simplicity, it seems there is a difference; and the Report, after a roundabout story, without turning to the Commission or quoting a *primitive* authority, determines, very sensibly, we think, that "the "practice which has crept in of baptizing the "candidate before the covenant, that is, before "any confession of his PERSONAL repentance, "faith, and obedience, and after simple assent on "his part to a mere statement of doctrinal belief, "was AN INNOVATION UPON CHRISTIAN USAGE "from the days of the Apostles"—a determination which is perfectly in accord with the Bible.

Would it not be well for the Committee to extend its inquiry during the current year, and tell us, in the next issue of the Minutes, how it is with the "Baptism" of those persons who, with yet more grave impropriety, it seems to us, have neither "assented" "to a mere statement of doctrinal belief," nor "confessed" their "personal

"repentance, faith, and obedience," as required by the Committee? Of those, many are said to be baptised in Massachusetts every year—nine hundred and eighty-seven, in 1866, and eleven hundred and sixty-eight, in 1867, are reported on page 55 of this very tract;—and it seems to us that this intelligent Committee might reasonably inquire by whose authority they were "Baptized" at all; and just what difference there is between the so-called "Baptisms," thus administered to *unbelievers* and without even an "assent to a mere statement of doctrinal belief," much more without "any confession of their personal repentance," etc., and that lawless "innovation upon CHRISTIAN usage from the days of the Apostles," of which the Committee has made mention.

We trust Dr. Quint will promote the extended inquiry, thus invited.

19.—*Communication from the Counsel of the Corporation in reply to Resolution of Inquiry in relation to the powers of the Corporation of the City of New York to issue Tavern and Excise Licenses.* Board of Aldermen, October 7, 1867. New York: E. Jones & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

We do not generally notice the papers published by the Corporation of New York, but this seems to demand a more careful consideration since it is mainly a historical and legal discussion concerning the ancient Charters of the city and the rights of the Common Council, under their provisions.

The learned Counsel of the Corporation traces from the days of the Dutch, more than two hundred years, the vested right of the city to license Taverns and collect excise duties; and he cites the Charters, subsequently granted by British authorities in confirmation of that "ancient right," and the decisions of the Courts, in the earlier days, on the inviolability of the Charter, to prove that the right to issue Licenses for Taverns and to collect Excise, is vested only the Mayor.

We have read the argument with considerable attention; and, in view of the incompleteness of his material, Mr. O'Gorman has done well. There is, however, very much more to be said on this subject of the right of the Legislature to interfere with the local concerns of New York; and we are looking forward to the Reports of the seven gentlemen to whom the Corporate authorities, last spring, appealed for information on that subject, to clear away the rubbish and establish the Truth—a result which will confirm to New York all the rights of self-government, without interference from abroad.

20.—*Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association of the City of New York.* May, 1866—April, 1867. New York, 1867. Octavo, pp. 48.

It seems that on the first of May, 1867, there

were Ten thousand five hundred and thirty-one members in this Association; that its yearly receipts were \$40,692 07; that Ten thousand and ninety volumes were added to the library during the year preceding that date, and Three thousand and four duplicates sold; and that it possessed "about Ninety thousand volumes," a fine Reading-room, etc.

It is gratifying to know that the Society is highly prosperous; and we trust that its prosperity will never be retarded by injudicious management.

21.—*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:* with an Appendix. Vol. XIV. A. D. 1867. New York, Presbyterian Publication Committee. 1867. Octavo, pp. 458—693.

We are indebted to our valued friend, Rev. Doctor Hatfield, for a copy of this volume, in which, carefully and judiciously arranged, are the statistics of the great denomination of New-School Presbyterians, scattered throughout our country.

The completeness of the record, in view of the wide extent of the Assembly's jurisdiction and the negligence of mankind wherein its *interest* is not apparent, is a monument to the industry, and methodical training, and businesslike habits of Dr. Hatfield, and may usefully serve as a model for those who shall come after him, in any department.

22.—*Insanity in its Medico-Legal Relations.* Opinion relative to the testamentary capacity of the late James C. Johnston, of Chowan County, North Carolina, by William A. Hammond, M. D. Second edition. New York: Baker, Voorhis, & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 81.

This notable case of monomania has been so fiercely contested on either side that it is already known to both the medical and legal professions throughout the country; and to no others, except the parties directly in interest, is it of any importance whatever.

The Opinion of Doctor Hammond, adverse to the capacity of the testator, is very elaborate and very conclusive; and we know of no reason for discrediting his conclusions. We commend the work to those who are interested in such subjects.

23.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College,* with a statement of the course of instruction in the various departments. 1867-68. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 74.

The Annual Catalogue of Yale College presents, in its five Departments, a noble array of Instructors, with a hundred and twenty-two students in Philosophy and Arts; one hundred and seven in the Senior Class, one hundred and twenty-eight Juniors, one hundred and thirty-two Sophomores, and one hundred and thirty-eight Freshmen, and

ample means for the efficient discharge of the duties devolving on the institution.

24.—*Colton's Journal of Geography and collateral Sciences*: a record of discovery, exploration, and survey, issued quarterly. New York: G. W. & B. Colton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 16. Price \$1. per year.

Although the primary object of this work may have been to advertise the business of its Publishers, we hope it will be made as useful as possible to students and others who take an interest in this very interesting subject.

The number before us is well-printed and contains a paper on *Alaska* and one, by Professor Dana, on the *Geological History of North America*.

25.—*The Atlantic Almanac*, 1868. Edited by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Donald G. Mitchell. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. Royal Octavo, pp. 76. Price 50 cents.

This work has been prepared upon a plan and in a style entirely new in its country. It contains sixty-four royal octavo, double-column pages, over fifty of which are filled with original matter. The literary character of the Almanac is altogether superior to that of any similar Almanac ever before published, as will be seen from the following list of authors who have contributed to its pages: O. W. HOLMES, ALFRED TENNYSON, DONALD G. MITCHELL, ALICE CARY, the Author of *The Man Without a Country*, R. W. EMERSON, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, GAIL HAMILTON, NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, ELIZABETH AKERS ALLEN, CHARLES DICKENS, WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, OWEN MEREDITH, GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, MRS. AGASSIZ, THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH, THOMAS HOOD, W. M. THACKERAY, and J. G. WHITTIER.

It contains four full-page illustrations, in colors, of *The Seasons*, reproduced from paintings by Mr. A. F. BELLOWS, and in addition to these, the text is profusely illustrated by the most skillful artists of the country.

In the general character of its literature, the *Atlantic Almanac* may be regarded as a Christmas number of the *Atlantic Monthly*; and a beautiful colored Cover adds to its attractiveness.

2.—MISCELLANY.

MAINE IN THE WAR.—*The Lewiston Journal* says, Hon. J. L. Hodston, late Adjutant-general of this State, published during his term of office, six annual reports to the Legislature, averaging one thousand octavo pages each. Together they embrace a mass of statistical and biographical facts that can be found in no other State documents. The last volume of the series is in the hands of the binder, and will be ready for delivery to the Legislature at its meeting. From it we learn that

Maine sent to war, seventy-two thousand, eight hundred and forty-five men. The total number deceased in the service was seven thousand, three hundred and twenty-two. There were five thousand and three hundred and eighty-seven substitutes and representative recruits furnished by drafted and enrolled men, and men not liable to draft. During the war, the State furnished one million, nine hundred and sixty thousand, eight hundred and one dollars and ninety-nine cents, in aid to needy families of soldiers and seamen. This was distributed among forty-nine thousand and thirty-four families, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two thousand, one hundred and ninety-three persons.

FORREST'S CAMPAIGN.—General Forrest publishes the following card:

"MEMPHIS, TENN., October 3, 1867.—In the work now in course of preparation by the publishers, will be found an authentic account of the campaigns and operations in which I took part during the war for the independence of the Confederate States. Believing it to be proper that there should be a timely and lasting record of the deeds and services of those whom I have been so fortunate as to command, I placed all the facts and papers in my possession, or available to me, in the hands of accomplished writers, who have done their part with close and conscientious research, and have endeavored to make up a chronicle neither over-wrought nor over-colored, as I can testify. For the greater part of the statements of the narrative I am responsible; and all facts and incidents derived from other sources are properly credited in the foot-notes. It is hoped that justice will be found done in some degree to the courage, zeal, fortitude, and other soldierly qualities of the men of 'Forrest's Cavalry,' for that has been the main purpose of the work.

N. B. FORREST."

PEALE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—Messrs. Ball & Black have issued a circular announcing that they have for sale one hundred copies of Rembrandt Peale's portrait of Washington, drawn on stone by the artist, and carefully retouched by his own hand. Since Mr. Peale's death, the stone on which this drawing was made has been destroyed, and consequently these hundred copies, with a few that the artist himself disposed of, are all that can ever be offered to the public. Moreover, Messrs. Ball & Black declare that if at the end of ninety days—the circular bears no date—any of the prints should be unsold, they will be taken to Europe, and disposed of there. We are assured by several contemporaries of Washington,

in a series of extracts from letters, written by them, and published at the end of the circular, that the likeness is a very faithful one. Chief-justice Marshall writes: "I have never seen a 'portrait of that great man which exhibited so 'perfect a resemblance of him." Judge Washington, ditto. Judge Cranch, ditto. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton: "It brought to my recollection his countenance such as it was at the commencement of the Revolution;" and William Rush writes: "I have been in battle under his command, have viewed him frequently on horseback and on foot, walking, standing, and sitting. I have modeled him in wood and clay repeatedly, and I consider your portrait the best likeness of him in the vigor of life, I have ever seen on canvas." These witnesses are not to be disregarded, and there is no doubt that the drawing is valuable. But Peale was a very indifferent artist—a mere mechanic—and the portrait has about as much look of the living man as Mr. William Rush's models in wood probably had. It is impossible for us to agree with the extravagant estimate that Messrs. Ball & Black place upon this lithograph.—*Exchange.*

SCRAPS.—Whitelaw Reid, once AGATE of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, is writing a History of Ohio Volunteers.

—Marshall, the artist, has nearly completed his engraving of Grant. It is of the same size and form as that best of portraits of Mr. Lincoln which is so well known as the work of Mr. Marshall.

—We learn from the *Newark Courier* that the historical record of New Jersey in the war for the Union, authorized by the Legislature of 1866, and prepared by John Y. Foster, of that city, is now passing through the press, and the first edition will appear about Christmas time. For the sake of convenience in handling, the work is confined to a single volume of seven hundred and fifty royal octavo pages, and will be handsomely printed on heavy white paper, in large, clear type, and embellished—in addition to a superb steel portrait of General Philip Kearney—with numerous maps of the more important battle-fields of the war.

—We regret to state that it was a necessary act of the last Legislature, punishing by fine any wilful writing upon, injuring, defacing, or destroying, any book, picture or statute belonging to any law, town, city, or other public library.—*Boston Transcript.*

—Barnes' *History of the Thirty-ninth Congress* is to be published by Harper & Brothers, who will bring out a new and enlarged edition of the work, splendidly illustrated, in a few days.

—The late Col. Alfred Mills, of the *Chicago Tribune*, left a manuscript history of McClellan's

Peninsular Campaign, which contained so much that was startling, that the author did not deem it expedient to publish it at present; but it should see light ere long, as a valuable contribution to the history of the late war.

—Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, one of the editors of the *Saint Paul Pioneer* and the Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, is soon to publish a *History of St. Paul*, on which he has been at work for many years, and for which a large portion of his material has been collected through nearly eleven years of editorial life in the city of which he writes.

—The Astor Library has been in existence fourteen years, and now possesses one hundred and thirty-five thousand volumes, while the capacities of the present buildings are equal to the accommodation of three hundred and fifty thousand. Four thousand volumes were added in 1867, and additions are constantly being made; but great care is exercised in the present purchases so as not to fill up the library too rapidly. During the past year there have been about twenty-five thousand readers in the two halls, and about fifty thousand volumes read. Besides these, large numbers have been admitted to the alcoves—authors, statistical writers, members of the press, etc. Francis Schroeder, formerly American Minister to Sweden, and one of the most distinguished bibliopolists of the country; is the present Superintendent, and E. R. Straznickiy, Frederic Saunders, F. A. Wood, and John Ebbets, are Librarians.

—J. S. C. Abbott, the author of the *Life of Napoleon*, is engaged on a *Life of Gen. Grant. More's* the pity.

—Thurlow Weed promises to write a book of Political Reminiscences after the next Presidential election, with the assistance of some two thousand letters which have been preserved and indorsed by his daughter. These letters are from all the leading Whig statesmen and Republican politicians of the last thirty or forty years.

—The editor of the *Supreme Court Reports*, Oliver H. Barbour, had, years ago, a contract with Gould, Banks & Co., to furnish them to that firm, receiving one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars per volume. About the time of the completion of Volume XXIV, a change was made in the firm, the old firm assigning to the new this contract. Mr. Barbour declined to go on with the new firm, and made a contract with Little of Albany. The firm commenced an action against Mr. Barbour, claiming that the contract was assignable, and that Mr. Barbour had by his acts assented to the assignment. The case was referred, and the Referees found for the Defendant. The Plaintiffs appealed; and the case turns mainly on the question whether a contract for personal services is assignable. It

was recently argued, and the Court reserved its decision.

—*The Rebellion Record*, will be completed on the first of March next, by the publication of the twelfth volume. Persons having valuable material not already published in the work, will do well to inclose such to Mr. Frank Moore, the Editor, at the Bible-House, New York City.

XVIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

EMBURY MONUMENT.—A project is on foot to erect a monument over the ashes of Philip Embury.

When Mr. Embury died, in 1775, he was buried in a retired place on a neighboring farm in Camden, Washington county, New York, where his remains slept till 1832; they were then removed to the old Ashgrove burying-ground. There they remained till 1866, when the church having been removed to Cambridge (about two miles), the old burial place falling into decay and disuse, and many bodies being removed, it was thought best that the remains of the founder of American Methodism should be again removed. This was done during the Session of the Troy Conference, in Cambridge, April, 1866, Bishop Janes and Reverend S. D. Brown at the time delivering appropriate and eloquent addresses. These sacred relics now lie in Woodland Cemetery, near Cambridge, in a lot generously donated by the Cemetery Association for that purpose. The lot is one of the most eligible and beautiful in the large Cemetery, and is situated upon an eminence looking out upon one of the finest landscapes in the country. What is new needed is an appropriate monument—such an one as the Methodist Church is able and ready to erect over the dust of her God-honored founder.

The Troy Conference has appointed a Committee to secure, if possible, the erection of such a monument.

SCRAPS.—The death, at the age of eighty-seven, of the celebrated bibliographer, Jacques Charles Brunet, is announced. The son of a bookseller, born at Paris in 1780, he commenced his bibliographical labors at a very early age; and lived to witness the completion, in 1864, of a fifth and much-improved edition of the *opus magnum*, the *Manuel de Libraire*, which for more than twenty years has been the leading bibliography of the world. Eloquent orations were pronounced at his interment. M. Paul Lacroix quoted M. Charles Nodier as saying of Brunet: "Here is our great teacher, who has written, and will write, but one book; but to that he will devote his life, and it will be a masterpiece." The prophecy has been amply fulfilled. M. Lacroix

made but a brief allusion to the fine cabinet of books possessed by M. Brunet, the treasures of which he was at all times pleased to show to any one competent to appreciate them. He had some fine specimens of the *bindings* so much coveted by collectors; and his library, rich in other respects also, will, if it comes to the hammer, excite the most lively interest and most eager competition.

—An effort is being made among the friends of Fitz-Greene Halleck to raise an amount sufficient to erect a monument in Guilford to the poet's memory. James G. Wilson, Esq., of New York is engaged in collecting materials of Mr. Halleck's life, for a Memoir of him.

—A bundle of shingles taken from the wreck of a British transport that went ashore at Castine, in 1779, was as sound throughout as when it was shipped in England, although it has laid in the wreck nearly a hundred years.

—The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recommended that statues of the late ex-Governors Dodge and Doty, of that State, be placed in the niche assigned Wisconsin in the National Gallery at the Capitol, at Washington.

—The Vermont Senate has authorized the State Librarian to purchase portraits of all the Governors, paying not more than fifty dollars each.

—A number of fossil and other fish of the ante-carboniferous period have recently been dug up near Columbus, Ohio.

—*The New Orleans Republican* learns that Governor Flanders has applied to the Secretary of the Interior for the return to that State of Hiram Powers's statue of Washington, which was taken from Baton Rouge by General Butler, in 1862, and sent North. This work of art was sent to New York; but the ship on which it was placed became disabled at sea, and put into Chesapeake Bay. The statue was finally sent to the Patent Office, where it has been kept ever since.

—It is stated that Captain G. P. Cochrane of Augusta, Me. has one of the largest and most valuable private collections of minerals, Indian relics, coins, &c., in the State. The collection of minerals not only comprises all that are to be found in Maine, but contains many Southern and Western specimens of great variety. The Indian relics consist of stone adzes, gouges, pestles, and other utensils, as well as arrow heads and various other implements of war; and were mostly obtained in Monmouth, Wayne, and neighboring towns, once in habitation of portions of the Androscoggin family of Indians.

—It is said that the British War Office has decided in future to include the subject of Military History by the creation of a special Lectureship for the Royal Military Academy, some other study of less importance being discontinued to make room for it.